

Pop Art Tendencies in Self-Managed Socialism: Pop Reactions and Countercultural Pop in Yugoslavia in 1960s and 1970s

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Abstract

This thesis explores forms of Pop Art on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s, seeking to identify its local variants. Yugoslavia, a single party state, built on the legacy of the anti-fascist Partisan struggle, principles of solidarity, egalitarianism, self-management and a strong sense of internationalism due to its founding role in the Non-Aligned Movement, was, at the same time, a country immersed in what has been termed 'utopian consumerism'. The thesis examines how Yugoslav artists during this period dealt with the burgeoning consumer society and media boom, kitsch and the Westernization of Yugoslav culture, phenomena which were ideologically at odds with the country's own socialist principles.

Starting from an analysis of the role of the artist in post-war Yugoslav system of self-management, the thesis proposes that Pop in Yugoslavia can be read as a critical site of articulation and negotiation of that role. Yugoslavia's founding principles, formed as a legacy of the People's Liberation Struggle (1941 – 1945), were based upon self-management and the introduction of social property, with art being a democratizing force with a central emancipatory role in the building of the new socialist state. But socialist modernism gradually relegated culture to a more illustrative role, as a form of 'soft power' for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The thesis proposes a reading of artists' diverse engagements with popular culture and materials as varied expressions of resistance to the severing of links with Yugoslavia's founding principles.

My original contribution to knowledge lies in the identification of two strands of Pop in the country—'Yugoslav Pop Reactions' and 'Yugoslav Countercultural Pop' which each turned to popular culture and cheap everyday materials as an alternative channel through which to respond to socialist modernism. My claim is that the two positions represent two diametrically opposed responses to the disenchantment with socialist modernism and artists' roles in society – both using the language of Pop Art but representing two different conceptual positions.

The thesis is structured around three core questions. Firstly it asks whether it is possible to retrospectively apply the category of Pop Art to artworks which never originally claimed this term. Secondly it examines ways in which Pop tendencies altered the position of Yugoslav female artists, who, marginalised in a heavily male-dominated environment, looked to Pop as an enabling force, allowing new working methods and ‘giving licence’ to new types of practices. The third question is concerned with the relationship between power, politics and Pop Art in Yugoslavia, asking to what extent Yugoslav Pop was a form of political practice, and to what extent it was a local adaptation of international currents and themes.

This thesis is associated with Tate’s multiannual research into ‘*global pop*’, which culminated in the exhibition ‘The World Goes Pop’ (September 2015 – January 2016, Tate Modern) through a Collaborative Doctoral Award (AHRC). This involved an advisory role in the exhibition research on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, identifying artists and artworks for potential inclusion in the exhibition. The methodology of the thesis was in part shaped by this context, beginning with close studies of artworks, their critical reception, and the study of their context—the sites of production and exhibition in the country at the time. Whilst both local and international literature on Yugoslav art history, global Pop Art as well as Yugoslav material culture and political context has been important, the core research involved oral histories, and visits to artists’ studios, museum collections, depots and archives in search of original artworks. The thesis draws on approximately twenty interviews with artists, curators, art historians and other art workers who were active in 1960s and 1970s, combined with the above-mentioned scholarship.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the feminist and anti-fascist heroines in my family: Olga (Olja) Džuverović (1922 – 1944) a Partisan and an active member of the Antifascist Women's Front, Olgica, Olja Džuverović (1947 – 2006) who taught me everything, to Nada Džuverović (1910 – 1986) and my mother, the flamboyant Vesna Džuverović.

For the amazing Leo Džuver. Thank you for your patience.

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Author's Declaration

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Signature: _____ Date: 20 April 2017

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Chapter 1–Introduction

1. Rethinking Pop Art Today

This thesis belongs to a host of curatorial and art historical interventions which have been developing over the first and second decades of the 21st Century, focused on a critical re-examination of Pop Art. Seeking to challenge Pop Art's hitherto firmly rooted canonical place as an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon closely linked with London and New York, a number of ambitious academy and museum-led initiatives over the recent years have set about to critically re-evaluate this key 20th century movement, recognising it as a constellation of global activities and local responses to mass culture and consumerism. These initiatives have sought not only to redraw the map of Pop Art in geographical terms, but to also include previously excluded female artists. This thesis, exploring forms of Pop Art in the former Yugoslavia, is linked to Tate Modern's multiannual research project into 'global pop', which will be discussed in detail in the methodology chapter (Chapter 2). Tate's global research involved the project's curators Jessica Morgan and Flavia Frigeri travelling to dozens of studios, museums and artist homes from Latin America to Asia, and from Europe to the Middle East, to meet key pop protagonists, in search for 'not one universal pop art but rather hundreds of iterations around the globe that share a populist concern.'¹ The thesis features as one of many outcomes of this project, which culminated in the exhibition 'The World Goes Pop' (September 2015 – January 2016, Tate Modern) featuring over 200 works made between 1962 and 1974, by artists from over 25 countries.² Tate's project unfolded alongside another parallel research, publishing and exhibition initiative entitled 'International Pop' (April – August 2015) organised by the Walker Art Center, which also sought to internationalise and widen pop's

¹ Frigeri, Flavia and Morgan, Jessica, Eds, *The World Goes Pop* (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), p 16.

² It is difficult to provide an number so this is just meant as an indication of the internationalism of this exhibition. Many of the artists worked internationally, or moved from their birth country. In some cases artists from the same country are today no longer one (for instance Serbia and Croatia and Czech and Slovak Republics).

boundaries. These two paradigm-shifting exhibitions that took place in 2015³ brought about a new approach to pop scholarship introducing new terminology, namely the terms ‘global pop’ and ‘international pop’, both of which will be discussed further below. For this thesis, which is centred on identifying pop art in Yugoslavia, the exhibition ‘Ludwig Goes Pop – The East Side Story’ (October 2015–January 2016), which focused on protagonists of Pop Art in Eastern Europe is equally significant.

This thesis examines manifestations of Pop Art in the former Yugoslavia. For the purposes of this research, Pop Art has been defined as inclusive of artworks which use the resources of popular culture, but demonstrate a critical distance from it.

Yugoslavia, a single party state, built on the legacy of the anti-fascist Partisan struggle, principles of solidarity, egalitarianism, self-management and a strong sense of internationalism due to its founding role in the Non-Aligned Movement, was, at the same time, a country immersed in what has been termed ‘utopian consumerism’.⁴ The thesis examines how Yugoslav artists during this period dealt with the burgeoning consumer society and media boom, kitsch and the Westernization of Yugoslav culture, phenomena which were ideologically at odds with the country’s own socialist principles. The thesis explores forms of Pop Art on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s, seeking to identify its local variants. The study of Pop in Yugoslavia will unfold through the three core questions outlined below.

2. Outline of Three Core Research Questions

The first question is definitional. It is clear that scholars and curators in recent years have been interested in expanding our understanding of Pop to include a broader range of artistic practices. The impetus for this expansion has had

³ Here I refer to what I see as key and most comprehensive exhibitions seeking to redefine pop. Other exhibitions also took place at this time, most notably ‘Ludwig Goes Pop’ at the Mumok Museum, Vienna, (12 February - 13 September 2015) curated by Susanne Neuburger.

⁴ The term ‘utopian consumerism’ is introduced by Branislav Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam : Nastanak I Protivrečnosti Potrošačke Kulture U Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1950-1970)*, Doktorska Disertacija, (Utopian Consumerism: The Emergence And The Contradictions Of The Consumer Culture In Socialist Yugoslavia (1950-1970)) PhD, (Belgrade: University Of Arts In Belgrade, 2011).

much to do with questions of gender and identity within a post-colonial revisiting of twentieth century artistic movements. The key issue that arises in such a project is how to define and employ the art historical category of pop without it losing coherence. Is it possible to retrospectively apply the term to artworks which never originally claimed it? This question leads to subsidiary questions: In what ways do we need to reframe our understanding of Pop, and what might be the methods of such a reframing? What are some of the tools necessary to redraw this new map of pop, both in terms of geography and gender?

The second research question of this thesis follows from the first. In light of a new, more inclusive definition of Pop provided by scholars and curators, the question of the significance of female Pop artists becomes crucial. The second question asks whether pop art opened up a new space for female artists in Yugoslavia, allowing for new methods of working, ‘giving licence’ to new types of practices, new materials and processes, away from male-dominated artist studios and networks, allowing for domestic materials and spaces to become legitimate avenues for making art. Within this second question, I ask how the presence of the female body in advertising, but also in Pop artworks, influenced the work of female artists in Yugoslavia, and how they responded in their work.

In the third question, I examine the relationship between power, politics and Pop Art in Yugoslavia. I ask to what extent Yugoslav Pop was a form of political practice, and to what extent it was a local adaptation of international currents and themes, and whether it developed unique local forms. Here, the question leads to a discussion of local meanings attached to pop imagery, which often came to Yugoslavia from abroad. This question demands a consideration of both the global, transnational dimensions of pop, as well as its local effects.

In what follows, I will expand these questions, particularly in relation to the existing scholarship on Pop Art.

3. Was It Pop? From Pop Art to ‘Many Pops’

My initial question concerns historiography. ‘The many pops we have encountered are each complex and rich in their own right. Subversive, political, feminist, commercially aware pop art is a language that thrived globally in the 1960s and early 1970s.’⁵ So claimed the curators of Tate’s ‘The World Goes Pop’ exhibition in 2015. The process of identifying ‘many pops’ along their research and curatorial path invites numerous methodological questions about the methods of inclusion, articulation and the robustness (precision) of the terms ‘global pop’ and ‘international pop’ introduced by the new wave of pop scholarship ushered in by the Walker Arts Center and Tate Modern exhibitions held in 2015. As the Hungarian art historian Dávid Fehér poignantly asked in relation to these exhibitions: ‘Does a ‘homogenizing umbrella’ term not eliminate the ‘discrete otherness’ of various local contexts?’,⁶ going on to remind us of the lack of precision of the terminology of original 1960s Pop art criticism in the first place, which formed a less than solid foundation upon which to construct new readings.⁷

Jessica Morgan concludes her essay in ‘The World Goes Pop’ catalogue by proposing that the ‘many pops’ that the project has identified are characterised by both a sense of shared preoccupations, but also an attentiveness to the local situations: ‘this was global yet specific pop’⁸ she claims, referring to the many local pop iterations that the Tate curatorial team encountered across countries from Mexico to Japan and from Iran to Romania. Determining the characteristics of the *global* and the *specific* necessitates a shift in art historical and curatorial methodology, to understand ways in which images travelled and the entanglement of local and global factors.

Fehér’s question about the ‘discrete otherness’ points to the problem of the centre and the periphery paradigm, and the ‘danger’ held in the potential of

⁵ ‘The World Goes Pop’, Morgan and Frigeri (Eds), p 11.

⁶ Timar Katalin (Ed), *Ludwig Goes Pop + The East Side Story* (Ludwig Museum, Budapest, , 2015); Fehér, David ‘The ‘Pop Problem – Pop Art and East Central Europe’, p. 121.

⁷ Fehér here refers to the 1964 essay by Robert Rosenblum ‘Pop Art and Non Pop Art’, published in Robert Rosenblum, *On Modern American Art: Selected Essays*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams Publishers, 1999).

⁸ Jessica Morgan, *The World Goes Pop*, p 15.

Western museums, in this case Tate Modern and the Walker Art Center, simply expanding the lens and the logic of Western Pop Art to cast the net wider, and include similar looking practices by a multitude of ‘others’, without a fundamental understanding of local situations and particularities inherent in a plurality of Pops resulting from specific conditions. Katalin Timar, the curator of ‘Ludwig Goes Pop – The East Side Story’ has pointed to ‘the problematic relationship between art productions in the centres and on the peripheries – manifest in the unconditional and un-challenged adaptation of Western art historical terminology in Eastern Europe’. Timar goes on to warn that ‘it is crucial not to see these as deviations or degenerations from the ‘pure’ and ‘perfect’ realizations of their Western counterparts, but as local interpretations, or as the results of alternative meaning-making practices.’⁹ Timar thus suggests that the process of understanding local conditions may necessitate a new interpretation of the way we view Pop—an adjustment of the matrix used to ‘read’ Pop artworks.

Pop Art historians and critics writing in the 1960s, amongst them Lucy Lippard, Marco Livingstone, Lawrence Alloway, Suzi Gablik and many others, have found it difficult to formulate a workable position towards Pop’s global manifestations. Acknowledging them, but promptly dismissing these practices from around the world, art critics have repeatedly set the non-Western Pop Art outputs aside, for others to deal with at a later date, if at all. ‘Folk artists of all nations—including Africa—have made use of commercial materials and emblems’¹⁰ wrote Lucy Lippard in 1966, before dismissing manifestations of Pop from around the world, alongside Pop’s European forerunners as ‘unconvincing’ and not close enough to the version of Pop she characterised as ‘instantly to the point, extroverted rather than introverted’, in what reads as a convenient strategy of dismissal of the plurality of outputs in order to claim Pop Art as uniquely American and British.¹¹ Similarly, 1969 in the catalogue preface to the exhibition ‘Pop Art Redefined’ at London’s Hayward Gallery, which sought to introduce American Pop artists to a British audience, art critic Suzi Gablik set out to ‘achieve a reorientation of critical concern’ of Pop, going

⁹ Timar Katalin, ‘Talking About Differences – Pop Art In East And West’, *Ludwig Goes Pop*, West p. 23.

¹⁰ Lucy R. Lippard, *Pop Art* London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), Introduction, p 11.

¹¹ Ibid, p 11.

on to mention, then promptly disregard, Pop's non-Anglo-Saxon versions: 'Manifestations of Pop Art have appeared throughout the world, in France, Italy, in Germany and Japan, but it was not possible on this occasion to deal with it all.'¹²

Lawrence Alloway, who fully acknowledged translatability and repeatable imagery as some of Pop's defining features, explaining that 'any event has the potential of spreading through society on a multiplicity of levels, carried by a fat anthology of signs', stopped short of exploring the effects of such translatability of images on a global scale. Citing the parallels emerging in Warhol and Lichtenstein's simultaneous turn to popular media, unbeknown to each other, Alloway highlighted that Pop 'would not have developed spontaneously in different places in the late 50s had it not been an authentic response to a historical situation'.¹³ Yet, despite his anthropological references, his understanding of the scope of mass media extended only to Western, industrialised commercial sources, looking to Hollywood, TV, advertising and magazines, and his analysis failed to explore the significance of ways in which media was transmitted globally. In fact, in his project of defining Pop, Alloway explicitly sought to limit what he perceived to be legitimate pop influences. For instance, he felt it necessary to actively and explicitly dismiss the work of the artist Marisol Escobar, as irrelevant to Pop, for, in his view, looking to the 'wrong' sources: 'Another artist who has often been assigned a place in Pop art is Marisol, but her art seems to belong elsewhere. She is a sophisticated naïve sculptor whose figures possess a folkloric decoration and fantasy that is quite unlike Pop art.' According to Alloway, Pop Art was not only an art of Western consumerism, but was tied to specific kinds of industrialised and mass-produced images, and could not emerge from folk. (Likewise, Lippard similarly dismissed any local folk influences as 'unimportant sources'.¹⁴)

¹² Suzi Gablik and Russell, John, *Pop Art Redefined* (New York: Frederick A Praeser Publishers, 1969), Introduction, p 9.

¹³ Lawrence Alloway, *American Pop Art* (New York: Collier Books, 1974), p 16.

¹⁴ In her influential 1966 book *Pop Art*, Lippard dismisses the significance of American vernacular culture on its Pop artists: 'Among the American forebears, the flag gates, nineteenth-century trade signs, whimsies, and weather-vanes of folk art provide amusing counterpart to Pop Art but are unimportant sources.' *Pop Art*, p. 12.

Along the same logic of linking Pop to advanced consumerism, for the art historian Marco Livingstone the possibility of Pop Art emerging in socialist countries, which had no free market economy, seemed impossible.

Livingstone, writing as late as 1990, explained that Pop could only 'flourish in a highly industrialized capitalist society' and the possibility of the former USSR, Eastern Europe or China producing its counterpart was, for him, simply unimaginable.¹⁵

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the particularities of Yugoslav conditions complicate and somewhat negate Livingstone's dismissal of Pop as a possibility outside industrialised capitalism. Perhaps the much-quoted terms used by Richard Hamilton when describing Pop, 'popular, transient, expendable, low-cost, mass-produced, young, witty, sexy, gimmicky, glamorous, and Big Business', could be rethought to allow for local expansions and adaptations in seeking to understand global pop.¹⁶ For instance – what might replace the notion of Pop being 'Big Business' in socialist country? One of the core investigations of this thesis centres on developing an understanding of what Yugoslav equivalents of Pop's defining characteristics might be.

Unambiguously, the first sentence of Lippard's influential book reads: 'Pop Art is an American phenomenon that departs from the cliché of big, bold, raw America that became current when Abstract Expressionism triumphed internationally'. She later went on to explain that Pop had two 'births'—in the UK and in the USA, expanding her reading to include Pop's British outputs. Lippard did acknowledge the plurality and diversity of Pops by saying that 'Its guise was quite different in each incarnation, [...] but its standards were not determined by regionalism so much as by a widespread decision to approach the contemporary world with a positive rather than a negative attitude'.¹⁷ But she did not go on to engage with specificities of different manifestations of Pop, rather focusing on drawing up defining parameters such as the use of commercial imagery and the Pop Art tone being 'to the point, extroverted', not

¹⁵ , p. 195. The full quote reads: 'By definition, Pop could flourish only in highly industrialised societies, and therefore there has been no direct pendant to this movement in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe or the communist China.'

¹⁶ Richard Hamilton, letter to Peter and Alison Smithson, January 16, 1957. Published in Richard Hamilton, *Collected Words 1953 – 1982* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), p. 28.

¹⁷ Lippard, *Pop Art*, I.

introverted'. Lippard's definitions allowed for some diversity, but her interest lay predominantly in defining similarities and identifying traits of Pop as a phenomenon.

For Lippard, inclusion in the Pop canon necessitated a certain directness, positivity and optimism, going as far as to claim that the optimism inherent in Pop's outputs could only be detected by those who were optimistic themselves—[the] 'underlying mood everywhere seems one of determined optimism—optimism against odds, an optimism not always recognizable to those viewers who do not share it'.¹⁸ like an intangible quality only accessible to those already initiated. What Lippard characterised as optimism, could in retrospect be seen more generally as simply a willingness and enthusiasm to embrace the materials and aesthetics of advertising, consumer culture and media, not necessarily an optimistic outlook. This enthusiasm towards particular aesthetics and materials did not, as Pop subsequently (post 1966) demonstrated, necessarily embody an endorsement or complicity with the status quo, implied in the optimism that Lippard seems to suggest. Much of the work was, in fact, filled with irony or a knowing criticality towards contemporary life, depicting tragic or disturbing events. For instance, it would be difficult to ignore the darkness of Warhol's 'Car Crash' series (1962) and read it as optimistic, to ignore the detachment and criticality present in the speech bubbles of Roy Lichtenstein's reworkings of comics, or in the image juxtapositions in Richard Hamilton's collages of interiors.

The incorporation popular culture materials, and an eschewing of distinctions between high and low cultural outputs, was found elsewhere at the time of Lippard's writing – from the proto-performance photographic series of photographs of Elle magazine 'Showing Elle' by the Yugoslav film-maker Tomislav Gotovac (Fig 1), to the German artist Kiki Kogelnik's Bombs in Love, 1962 (Fig 2), or Brazilian Antonio Dias' 'Note on the Unforeseen Death' 1965 (Fig 3) – all early Pop works incorporating popular culture and materials. Pop was not necessarily exclusive to Britain or the USA, despite Lippard's claim that 'Hard-core Pop Art is essentially a product of America's long-finned,

¹⁸ Ibid, p 10.

big-breasted, one-born-every-minute society, its advantages of being more involved with the future than with the past.’¹⁹ What was exclusive to the USA and Britain, and lacking elsewhere, was not so much the possibility of artists’ engagement with the future, but the fact that the infrastructure of the ‘centre’ in which commercial galleries (such as for instance the Sonnabend Gallery in New York) were able and willing to support the production and promotion of works of Pop Art, and construct the narrative around that work – with Lippard herself being a major voice in this process through her writing about Pop Art.

The exclusion from the canon of Pop meant that, as a result, most artists who have subsequently been included in the wider map of global Pop, did not feel a sense of belonging to Pop Art, considering their work to fall outside this narrowly defined movement. In the comprehensive interviews with artists for the catalogue of the ‘The World Goes Pop’ exhibition, when asked ‘Did you ever consider yourself (now or in the past) to be a Pop Artist?’²⁰, of twenty-eight artists who answered this interview question, only four categorically stated that they thought of themselves as Pop artists, while for the others this seemed a term that was possible to apply retrospectively, but that did not ‘fit’ at the time.

i. Decolonising Pop Art – Decolonising the Museum

In his review of ‘The World Goes Pop’ and ‘International Pop’ exhibitions in *Artforum* magazine (January 2016) the art critic David Joselit shifted the emphasis from the somewhat neutral terminology of ‘rethinking’ or ‘widening’ Pop Art’s territories by internationalizing, or globalizing it, to a much more politicized term – *decolonizing*.²¹

¹⁹ Ibid, p 11.

²⁰ Morgan and Frigeri, Eds., *The World Goes Pop*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), Interviews with Artists, p 123 - 127.

²¹ David Joselit, ‘International Pop’ and ‘the World Goes Pop’, *Walker Art Center, Minneapolis and Tate Modern, London*, *Artforum*, January 2016, Reviews Section.

Joselit focused on establishing the difference embedded in the respective linguistic choices between the *global* and the *international*, and ways in which this informed the museums' curatorial approaches. For Joselit, the outlook embedded in the Walker Art Center's term *international* positioned the exhibition within the shifts inherent in 'the nation-state giving way to multinational networks, markets and cultures – to globalization' setting out a framework for the exhibition to examine the mobility of images within these changing conditions (for instance in the exhibition's section 'The Image Travels'). Conversely Tate's term *global*, Joselit claimed, indicated 'either the erasure of geographic difference (the so-called McDonaldization of the world) or the emergence of neo-imperial hierarchies that establish boundaries between rich and poor, or between cheap labor and metropolitan finance, that do not conform to the borders of national territories'.²² Joselit therefore suggested that the term 'international pop' stood for 'equal yet distinct traditions' demonstrated in the exhibition's treatment of distinctive local histories present side by side, whilst the 'global' performed a simplification or erasure of the local, by thematically organizing works from across the globe, without allowing for the locality to emerge. The key difference, Joselit concluded, lay in the two exhibitions' handling of British and American material. While the Walker exhibition 'provincialised' or marginalised British and American pop, by including the canonical Pop artists on an equal footing with those from other geographies (for instance Warhol's work not being given more attention than the work of the Brazilian artist Antonio Dias or the Japanese artist Tetsumi Kudo), Tate's approach, on the other hand, lay in almost entirely omitting the best known British and American Pop artists, thus focusing on Pop's global iterations, minus the canon.

The terminological differences are important as an indicator of the curatorial approaches and processes, demonstrating the significance of naming in the process of constructing (or in this instance correcting or revisiting) art historical events. By suggesting that both museums are in fact involved in 'decolonialising Pop Art', Joselit himself put these curatorial initiatives into a

²² Ibid.

wider perspective, placing the exhibitions in the larger project of decolonizing or ‘de-Westernising’ the museum.

The proposed notion of ‘decolonizing’ adds a different dimension to the way respective exhibitions articulated their efforts: ‘telling a global story’ (Tate) or ‘chronicling the global emergence’ of Pop (Walker Art Center). The term ‘decolonising’ to which I will return throughout the thesis, includes not only the process of widening Pop’s geographies, and including female protagonists, but also places an emphasis on the larger question of what the notion of ‘de-Westernising’ the museum could entail, problematizing the processes through which international practices become assimilated into the Western museum, with its increasingly global remit. In other words – whilst the focus of this thesis is on the content of ‘global pop’, and on its iterations in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, attention is also given to ways in which these inclusions unfold within the negotiations of the colonial histories of Western museums, and their contemporary correctives. This includes the reconstitution of the museum’s remit via its curatorial methods, its approach to exhibitions and programmes in development, and its ways of using its space, as well as interventions into existing collections and archives, and their public interfaces.²³

The search for ‘international contemporaneity’, a term introduced by the curator Reiko Tomii, in her essay for ‘The World Goes Pop’ catalogue, that is embedded within the project of decolonizing Pop Art, seeks out a sense of shared expressions of contemporary conditions across different geographies.²⁴ It is part of new conceptions of a globally constituted museology and curatorship, which take into consideration both the ‘impact of globalisation on cultural practices and the lessons of postcolonial theory’ - to refer to the

²³ The discussion of museum architecture and ways in which it reflects and facilitates programming is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is worth noting, as a timely and relevant example, Tate Modern’s new building which opened in June 2016, which was built with the vision to ‘redefine the museum for the twenty first century, placing artists and their art at its centre while fully integrating the display, learning and social functions of the museum, and strengthening links between the museum, its community and the City’ as was outlined in its press release, pointing to a more inclusive way of conceptualizing museum space, to reflect the needs of the communities it serves.

²⁴ Tomii uses Japan as a paradigmatic art historical site, as being on the periphery but also asserting its place in what she has termed international contemporaneity. Reiko Tomii, ‘Oiran Goes Pop: Contemporary Japanese Artists Reinventing Icons’, in Morgan et al, *The World Goes Pop*, p 95.

articulation from the mission statement of the journal *Third Text*, which has since 1987 been one of the central voices in the narratives of global approaches to visual culture.²⁵ Responding to the multitude of post-1989 historiographical initiatives, which are defining a language and working methods for the museum today, a number of institutions have revisited their policies and mission statements which had hitherto been primarily focused on historicising and collecting Western practices.²⁶

Tate's current acquisition policy, last updated in 2009, exemplifies this shift in that it explicitly states that 'the focus of Tate's international collection has traditionally been on the art of Western Europe and North America. Since 2000, the Board of Trustees have extended this remit to embrace international and modern contemporary art from a more global perspective.'²⁷ More recently, the internal document outlining entitled 'Tate Objectives 2016/17: Championing art and its value to society', one of five Key Performance Indicators for Tate's future reads: 'Build int'l perspective; monitor female artists/ethnicity of British-based artists', demonstrating a core commitment to internationalising the museum's work on all levels.²⁸ Such a remit clearly demonstrates commitment to a shift in the museum's agenda towards a global, and more inclusive approach to collecting and exhibitions, but it is worth exploring the methods of such an undertaking in more depth, which is what I will focus on in the next section.

ii. Decolonising or Recolonising? What is at stake in rewriting the Canon of Pop Art?

We might ask how the 'global pop' initiative fits within Tate's aspiration to create a 'global' collection, and a more inclusive programme. Pop Art is without doubt of key

²⁵ Mission statement of Third Text, <<http://thirdtext.org/about-us>>, last accessed 3 March, 2016.

²⁶ 1989 is commonly acknowledged as a pivotal moment in the twentieth century: The Tiananmen Square massacre, the fall of communism across the Soviet bloc, the invention of the WWW by Tim Berners Lee, being the most significant events.

²⁷ TATE ACQUISITION AND DISPOSAL POLICY Approved by the Board of Trustees on 8 July 2009 Date of Next Review: July 2012, Statement of Principles; <<http://www.tate.org.uk/download/file/fid/4424>>, last accessed 15 May 2016.

²⁸ Tate Intranet (access staff only), <<https://homework.tate.org.uk/abouttate/objectives/our-plans-for-2016-17/Pages/DanaInfo.atbvHcSk0+default.aspx>>, last accessed 6 June 2016.

importance to such an endeavour, given the narrow and rigid boundaries which have been used to define Pop and to claim its importance within 20th Century art history hitherto. But what is at stake in such an undertaking, both for the museum and for the artists and communities involved in such an exhibition and research project?

Is Tate's ambition to revisit the canon of Pop Art, as David Joselit suggested, truly a project of decolonizing Pop, or is there a danger of such an initiative becoming little more than an exercise in broadening the geographies of the canon simply to bring it in line with the institution's more inclusive and global agenda? Is an exhibition like 'The World Goes Pop', by definition, not simply a case of recolonizing Pop Art, and a means by which the museum reaffirms its authority as a leading Western institution, one that continues to be at the forefront by means of canon formation? In other words, what might the difference between decolonising and recolonising entail?

One could argue that a genuine effort to *decolonise* Pop would acknowledge the movement's fluidity and plurality. It seems that the first logical gesture of decolonising would involve refusing the dominance of the Western museum by, for instance, enabling decentralised research and exhibition-making (an exhibition across a number of non-Western geographical locations, for instance). Further, one could propose that to decolonise would mean to intervene and subvert the longstanding colonial structures of mapping, identifying, acquiring and exhibiting works from elsewhere, in favour of a more enabling and porous model. By employing more of a 'horizontal' approach, this would seek to strengthen local networks and form lateral connections rather than reinforce the centrality of Western institutions. This might take the form of long term loans, or acquisitions, which allow for the work to remain in the region of their production, only borrowed temporarily and for specific exhibitions, while, in parallel encouraging scholarly research. Such a model can be seen, for instance, in the work of Madrid's Reina Sofia Museum which operates on this principle, as explained on the museum's website: "Along with purchased and donated works, a major part of the Collection's acquisitions consists of gratuitous long-term loans. In order to improve the representation of certain artists or movements that are unavailable on the open market

or difficult for the Museum to acquire, between 2008 and 2016 the Collections Department has built up the temporary deposits of a significant number of works.’²⁹

Thinking about the legacy of projects such as ‘The World Goes Pop’, it is also important to consider the long-term effects of the use of Western institutional and art historical frameworks in the reappraisal of works which never originally claimed an affinity with Pop. As was evidenced in the interviews with the artists in the ‘The World Goes Pop’ exhibition catalogue, the majority asserted that they did not think of themselves as Pop artists at the time that they made the works exhibited in the show (i.e., in the 1960s and 1970s). By ‘rebranding’ these works as ‘global pop’, the Western museum’s dominance in the continuing narrative of Pop is perpetuated; an action which also carries the danger of altering the dynamics of local artistic scenes, imposing not only new readings on the works, but also creating new, externally produced, hierarchies of significance and of economic value.

In the case of the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Tate’s ‘global pop’ research engaged with local narratives primarily by enabling the production of this thesis. In fact, far less time was devoted to the selection of Yugoslav works in the show. The chief curatorial visit consisted of a series of meetings (in Zagreb and Ljubljana) over two days and was focused mostly on works, studio visits, and collections that were already ‘on Tate’s map’ and within the Museum’s sphere of knowledge. Had time allowed, it would have been beneficial for the curators to ‘go off the beaten track’ to discover works of artists not previously known to Tate, and, in the process, greater understanding of the local scenes would have informed the choice of what to exhibit. It is interesting that, methodologically, while researching, I was asked to earmark art works that ‘looked like Pop’, an instruction which perhaps might have limited the inclusion of works that looked less like Pop but emerged out of what might be called pop sensibilities (such as the work of the OHO group discussed in this thesis, for instance).

The eventual inclusion of the works of Dušan Otašević (Serbia) and Boris Bućan (Croatia) in the exhibition was indeed a departure for Tate which had not previously

²⁹ For further information on the Reina Sofia’s acquisitions policy see: <http://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/collection/donations-and-long-term-loans>, last accessed 17 June 2017

exhibited their art before. Works by these two artists were included in the exhibition alongside a video by Sanja Iveković (*Sweet Violence*, 1974) from the Tate's collection.

The process by which research is undertaken and selections are made poses a question about the limitations of such survey shows, and the possibility that they may largely produce inclusions of practices already known, and in some cases already collected, thereby reaffirming and strengthening existing taxonomies and curatorial interests. The alternative is one in which such initiatives are actively and self-consciously attentive to the potential of 'discrete otherness' outlined by the art historian Fehér, and discussed earlier in this chapter. What is required in this case, is an openness to those artistic practices which do not 'neatly' fit into existing narratives, and perhaps, in some cases do not actually look like Pop at first glance.

Like Tate, other large European and US museums have been undergoing similar shifts in their remit, actively putting into question their curatorial and acquisitions policies with a view to embracing a more global approach. For instance, MUMOK in Vienna rethought its collection policy around the same time as Tate (2001), as summed up by its Director: 'Contemporary art coming from Central and Eastern European countries long regarded as periphery, as well as art coming from the Southern European countries equally perceived as fringe areas from a Western perspective (Portugal, Spain, Greece), have both found their way to our Museum. What is more, we have also turned our attention to art from non-European countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Israel, Japan, and Korea. Because of these two factors, the collection of the Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien can now interpret Western art in a broader and multicultural context more in line with the current political and cultural situation.[...] In this regard our collection policy reflects the sweeping changes in the way art was looked upon in the eighties and nineties, the break with ahistorical, abstract, universalistic, formalistic, and evolutionist models, and the adoption of an anthropological mentality stressing concrete ethno-cultural, historical and ideological determinations.'³⁰

³⁰ Lóránd Hegyi, *Zwischenquartier. Interim Quartiers* (Vienna: Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig, 2001) p. 19 as quoted in the masters thesis 'Art to Collect Art: Acquisition Policies of Museums of Modern Art from 1980s to the Present' by Kateryna Gorlenko, University of Vienna, 2010, p 46, 47; <http://othes.univie.ac.at/11342/1/2010-09-03_0868184.pdf>, last accessed 25 May 2016

MoMA, NYC's Collections Management Policy (2010) points to a diversity of medium, with what seems to be a lesser focus on transcending of national boundaries:

...That modern and contemporary art transcend national boundaries and involve all forms of visual expression, including painting and sculpture, drawings, prints and illustrated books, photography, architecture and design, and film and video, as well as new forms yet to be developed or understood, that reflect and explore the artistic issues of the era.

Although based only on a few institutional examples, a shift in paradigm in larger institutions is evident, although it does amount to a relatively simple project of casting the net much wider, with the view of the inclusion of, in some cases acquisition, of, select works of the most significant artists from a wider geographical remit. For instance the statement quoted above from MUMOK's policy documents sees its global approach as a more robust way of interpreting Western practices *West* rather than seeking ways to create a more global account which would supersede the 'West' and 'Other' binary. This perspective still resonates with the colonial grand narratives of mapping, studying and acquiring creative endeavours of 'the Other' for the purposes of a more complete account of what is essentially still a West-centred art history. Without a much deeper engagement with the local contexts, support structures available to artists in local environments and the study of material and ideological specificity, the project of widening geographies becomes one of the art historical narratives being simply broadened, not rethought.

Rather than focussing on a more pervasive scanning of the globe with the ambition of detecting 'global yet specific pop', as proposed by 'The World Goes Pop' exhibition, a more productive approach may be found in putting under pressure the parameters, perspectives and methods that are needed for the construction of a global art history. In his writing on the postcolony, the

Cameroonian philosopher and political theorist, Achille Mbembe highlights a need for a foundational reorganisation of knowledge, rather than a broadening of the symptoms of knowledge production:

We therefore need to examine the way the world of meanings thus produced is ordered, the types of institutions, the knowledges, norms and practices that structure this new 'common sense' as well as the light that the use of visual imagery and discourse throws on the nature of domination and subordination.³¹

The beginnings of such an approach may perhaps be found in drawing parallels between numerous non-Western localities (for instance practices of eastern Europe and Latin America) which shared certain conditions, but also displayed distinct characteristics, in an approach that the art historian Piotr Piotrowski has called 'horizontal art history'.³²

Instead of a more straightforward 'widening' of Pop, the scope within which these questions may be asked is one which opens up a path towards a much more fundamental process of 'decolonising the mind' to borrow the term from comparative literature, and the Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o.³³ Ngũgĩ advocates the use of local languages as a process of shedding embedded colonial dominance, in seeking a deeper understanding of the importance of the vernacular in the preservation of the specificities of local situations, traditions and narratives. While the active reorientation from Western to global by a number of museums marks a positive change, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations (and slow gestation) of such initiatives and their limited potential to institute systemic change. This has been articulated by the consortium of art institutions within the L'Internationale confederation which has, since 2010 been working together (primarily via a number of EU-funded co-operation projects) to 'propose a space for art within a non-hierarchical and decentralised internationalism, based on the values of difference and horizontal

³¹ Achille Mbembe, *Provisional Notes on the Postcolony, Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 62, No. 1, (1992), pp. 3-37, p. 3 – 4.

³² Piotr Piotrowski, 'Toward a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde' in *European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies, Volume 1*, edited by Sascha Bru and Peter Nicholls, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 49 – 58.

³³ Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*, (Oxford: James Currey, 1986).

exchange among a constellation of cultural agents, locally rooted and globally connected.’³⁴ The L’Internationale confederation problematizes the pragmatic challenges of such a project in articulating their own research brief as one in which ‘decolonising’ means both resisting the reproduction of colonial taxonomies, while simultaneously vindicating radical multiplicity. These are two forces drawing in different directions: understanding the situation museums are in, critically and openly, and identifying those moments that already indicate a different type of practice that overcomes or resists the colonial conditioning.³⁵

In relation to writing specifically about Yugoslav work, the term ‘decolonising’ acquires another layer of meaning in the light of the country’s emancipation from USSR in 1948, in its embarking on an independent political journey from that point on, and its active role in the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement. Although technically never a colony, to speak of decolonizing is a term that acquires relevance if we think of Yugoslavia as a country freed up of a major ideological, economic and political influence and control from elsewhere, replacing it with other forms of control, from within the country.

In examining how scholars of east European art histories may have deployed postcolonial strategies, a useful framework was put forward in Piotr Piotrowski’s call for an expansion of postcolonial theory to ‘embrace the other peripheries, as well as the other centres’.³⁶ Writing in 2014, Piotrowski outlined the limited usefulness of postcolonial discourse to east European art histories due to the axis of ‘former colony-metropolis’ relations as a key paradigm. Highlighting the fact that different peripheries experienced different

³⁴ L’Internationale is a confederation of six modern and contemporary art institutions, (Moderna galerija (MG+MSUM, Ljubljana, Slovenia); Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia (MNCARS, Madrid, Spain); Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA, Barcelona, Spain); Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen (M HKA, Antwerp, Belgium); SALT (Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey) and Van Abbemuseum (VAM, Eindhoven, the Netherlands), which proposes a space for art within a non-hierarchical and decentralised internationalism. For further information see their online platform: <<http://www.internationaleonline.org/>>, last accessed 05 December 2016.

³⁵ L’Internationale online: ‘Decolonising Museums, Edited by L’Internationale Online, 2015, <http://www.internationaleonline.org/media/files/decolonisingmuseums_pdf-final.pdf>, last accessed 15 November 2016.

³⁶ Piotrowski, Piotr, ‘East European Art Peripheries Facing Post-Colonial Theory’, (12 August 2014), Nonsite.org, Issue No 12,: Contemporary Politics and Historical Representation, <http://nonsite.org/article/east-european-art-peripheries-facing-post-colonial-theory>, last accessed 14 March 2017.

relations to the centre, Piotrowski argues that we may be potentially be creating another hegemony.

Piotrowski further called for a 'horizontal' global art history, open to 'all peripheries and all centres'. Despite many shared issues of racism, exclusion, imperialism and exploitation, Piotrowski asserts that 'not all peripheries used to define themselves in the same way, since their cultures developed in different epistemic frameworks in comparison to the centre's'.³⁷ Piotrowski thus called for a discipline that he named 'critical art geography' as a more useful framework, seeking a more pluralistic approach.

4. Pop As Licence To Act: New Approaches and New Spaces for Female Artists

The second research question of this thesis concerns the complex relationship between Pop Art and its female protagonists, in relation to the changing position of women in Yugoslav society in 1960s and 1970s. Given Pop Art's democratising potential, this research question examines whether popular culture opened up new avenues for female artists, giving licence to new approaches, new materials and new entry points into what was a sexist and exclusionary art system.

Pop Art in its original narrow definition had a troubled relationship with female artists (as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7) both in terms of the profoundly misogynist and objectifying nature of much of the work, and the exclusion of female artists from the Pop canon. Being a movement which was, to quote curator Sid Sachs, so limited that it was 'represented by two handfuls of American and British male painters'³⁸ Pop was probably less inclusive of female artists than any other post-war art movement. As already mentioned above in the quote by Lawrence Alloway, even Marisol, the one female artist who could be said to have been safely included in the US/UK 'Pop

³⁷ Ibid, p 18.

³⁸ Kalliopi Minioudaki and Sid Sachs, Eds., 'Introduction', *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958-1968* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2010), p. 18.

establishment', was seen by Alloway as not fully belonging to Pop Art in its purest form as defined by the first wave of its historicisation.

Pop Art emerged in an atmosphere of unchallenged sexism in which, to cite the artist Jann Haworth, already at the point of entry into art school, gender bias was endemic: 'it wasn't necessary for them to look at the portfolios of the female students' Haworth recalled ' [...] they just needed to look at their photos [...] the assumption was [...] that the girls were there to keep the boys happy.'³⁹

Women's exclusion from the canon of Pop becomes even more contentious when viewed in light of the inclusive nature of Pop's source materials and Pop's focus on the domestic sphere. 'In the early 1960s, the male artists moved into woman's domain and pillaged with impunity' wrote Lucy Lippard in 1972 (i.e. after her first writings on Pop, which had not been particularly supportive of female artists). Had the first major Pop artists been women, she continued, 'the movement might not have gotten out of the kitchen'.⁴⁰ Characterised by the erasure of disciplinary hierarchies and the incorporation of popular culture, Pop inherently held a great potential to open up new art-making avenues for women, emanating, as it did, from the domain of women's lived realities (consumer materials used in the home, advertising imagery, packaging, fabric).

Researching the question of gender difference in Yugoslav art, and seeking out previously overlooked, and marginalised female practitioners, has required an examination of both the canon's 'discursive structure' and its 'structure of masculine narcissism within the exercise of cultural hegemony'—a dual approach proposed by Griselda Pollock in 1999.⁴¹ For Yugoslav female practitioners the exclusion was manifold – not only did they occupy marginal roles locally at the time, being in the minority in predominantly male art

³⁹ Ibid, p. 22

⁴⁰ Lucy Lippard quoted by Kalliopi Minioudaki, in *Seductive Subversion* in 'Household Images in Art' (1972), in her *The Pink Glass Swan: Selected Feminist Essays on Art* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 62, first published in *Ms. Magazine*.

⁴¹ Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*, (London: Routledge, 1999), p xiv

environments,⁴² but their work, with the exception of the work of the Zagreb-based feminist conceptualist Sanja Iveković, (and Marina Abramović, whose work is not relevant to the Pop narrative) subsequently remained outside hegemonic art historical narratives of movements such as Pop Art. This was as a result of two factors: the rigid frameworks of hegemonic art history (as we have seen above), and the region's own limited capacity to open up international opportunities and to promote its artists of this period, mostly due to challenging political and economic circumstances since the 1990s.⁴³

The question of female Pop artists in Yugoslavia thus requires a twofold analysis – firstly a thorough understanding of the shifting position of women in 1950s and into the 1970s, and secondly, a study of the effects of liberalisation and newly found sexual freedoms in the country. Women who came of age in the 1960s and early 1970s in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia matured into what would prove to be a conflicted value system.⁴⁴ On the one hand, they were brought up on the legacy of, and with great respect for, the crucial women's organisation – *Antifašistički front žena* (AFŽ) (the Anti-fascist Women's Front (AWF)), which was an active entity (discussed in Chapter 7) during the Second World War and central to women's post-war emancipation. This perspective promulgated equality for women and men (including equal pay) and sought to enable women to be active working members of society. On

⁴² In the case of artists' collectives, for instance (a dominant *modus operandi* for artists in Yugoslavia across the 20th Century), women were heavily underrepresented in the activities of most of the now well-known artist groups or collectives across the history of Yugoslav avant-garde. They were also, frequently, not fully credited. For instance artists' groups and collectives Zenit, Traveleri, Gorgona, The Group of Six, Exat 51, and Red Peristyle did not include any women. The group Bosch&Bosch did include Katalin Ladik but she is often not mentioned in the historical accounts of the collective, and by her own admission (in the interview I conducted with her) she was frequently asked to work specifically on the sound elements of their projects – an input of lesser importance, as she saw it. Similarly the group OHO and its successor The Sempas Family rarely credited any women, yet women frequently appear in their video and performance works and were instrumental in, for instance, sewing some of the groups costumes for performance. Yet the names of female participants (such as for instance Marika Pogačnik) rarely appear on the credit lines or historical accounts of the group's work.

⁴³ The issue of local historicisation is subject of many significant studies and projects. For further information see exhibition catalogues 'Interrupted Histories' 2006 (curated by Zdenka Badovinac), at Ljubljana's Moderna Galerija, and E-flux texts entitled 'Innovative Forms of Archives' by Nataša Petrešin-Bachelez, The project East Art Map, by the group IRWIN and Klara Kemp Welch's project Networking the Bloc. In the UK most recently this issue has been taken up by my own research strand (2012 – 2014) curated at Calvert 22 Foundation entitled Archive as Strategy: Conversations around Self-historicisation across the East.

⁴⁴ The conflicting position of Yugoslav women has been extensively theorised by the curator and art historian Bojana Pejić in her excellent work around the Gender Check exhibition, and many Yugoslav feminist scholars since including Ivana Bago, Antonia Majaca and Suzana Milevska.

the other hand, Yugoslav women faced a gradual return of pre-war bourgeois patriarchal traditions, which, dominating the private sphere, strove to make them once again responsible for domestic life and child-rearing (while retaining the outward image of their social equality).

This situation was further complicated by the rapid proliferation of images of women in magazines, film and advertising from the mid-1960s onwards. As I will show below, in a relatively short period the public realm of media and advertising became filled with female sex symbols, temptresses, women out of control (as they were often portrayed in film) or housewives embracing the new consumer bliss of the Western-facing, liberal Yugoslavia. Popular culture as material and a space for art was both productive and restrictive for women. They were consumers but also became its products, as Linda Nochlin argued in relation to women and Pop: ‘On the one hand, they were considered the primary agents of consumerism; ads for hard goods, innovative products, new cleansers, clothes, and cosmetics as well as food and drink were aimed directly at them; on the other hand, women themselves were made into a product in popular culture, or at least productlike: passive, sexual creatures, miniskirted big-breasted ‘dollies’ made to be consumed—or thrown away – by hungry male admirers’.⁴⁵

Above all, this period saw the proliferation of a new image – that of the nude woman, supposedly enjoying her new sexual freedoms, as has been theorised by Yugoslav art historians, most notably Bojana Pejić and Ivana Bago in the research for the ‘Gender Check: Femininity and Masculinity in Eastern Europe’ exhibition held at Vienna’s MUMOK in 2009/10.⁴⁶ Any revisiting Yugoslav female artists’ practices builds on the significant proto-feminist account of the emancipation of Yugoslav women by Lydia Sklevitsky, whose

⁴⁵ Kalliopi Minioudaki, Sid Sachs and Pa.) Rosenwald-Wolf Gallery (Philadelphia, *Seductive Subversion: Women* Minioudaki, Kalliopi and Sachs, Sid, Eds., *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958-1968* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2010), Nochlin Linda, *Running on Empty: Women Pop And The Society of Consumption*, p. 15

⁴⁶ For further information see: Pejić, Bojana, Ed., *Gender Check. Femininity and Masculinity in the Art of Eastern Europe*, (Vienna: Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig, 2009), and Pejić, Bojana, Ed., *Gender Check: A Reader – Art and Theory in Eastern Europe*, (Koeln: Walter Koenig, 2010).

posthumously published volume *Women, Horses, Wars*⁴⁷ (1996) made for an essential grounding scholarship of the position of women in post war Yugoslavia, as will be discussed in detail Chapter 7.

The exploration of the work of Yugoslav female practitioners via the lens of Pop, joins the efforts of a host of exhibitions and publications over the past ten years which have demonstrated concerted efforts to re-evaluate Pop's narrow confines in terms of gender by exhibiting works by overlooked female Pop artists. In many cases, such projects have employed what Gayatri Spivak has termed 'strategic essentialism'⁴⁸ – as a way of redressing the balance by focusing on the marginalised subject only. 2010 saw two large-scale group exhibitions showing the work of overlooked female pop artists: 'Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958–1968', curated by Sid Sachs,⁴⁹ and 'POWER UP–Female Pop Art', curated by Angela Stief at the Vienna Kunsthalle.⁵⁰ Sid Sachs, the curator of 'Seductive Subversion' explained in the catalogue that the exhibition (and a commissioned film, and a substantial catalogue) 'sought to redress the Anglo-American male-centered history of Pop' in the hope that the project would 'expand this narrow definition and re-evaluate the critical reception of Pop Art'. Vienna Kunsthalle's 'POWER UP–Female Pop Art'⁵¹ showcased the work of 9 previously overlooked female pop artists, many of whom also featured amongst the 24 artists in 'Seductive Subversion'. They were Evelyne Axell, Sister Corita, Christa Dichgans, Rosalyn Drexler, Jann Haworth, Dorothy Iannone, Kiki Kogelnik, Marisol, and Niki de Saint Phalle.

⁴⁷ Sklevicky, Lydia and Rihtman- Auguštín, Dunja, *Konji, Žene, Ratovi* (Horses, Women, Wars), (Ženska infoteka, 1996)

⁴⁸ Gayatri Spivak introduced the term in the 1980s, claiming that despite heterogeneous make up of any minority community, it is strategically advantageous to sometimes 'essentialise' themselves temporarily, for a particular purpose or occasion, in order to gain visibility, and put forward a group identity or achieve particular goals.

⁴⁹ 'Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists 1958 – 1968', Rosenwald-Wolf Gallery with the Hamilton Hall Galleries and Borowsky Gallery, January 22 – March 15 2010, followed by a national tour to Elisabeth A Sackler Center for Feminist Art at the Brooklyn Museum, 15, 10. 2010 – 9, 01. 2011. Curated by Sid Sachs. Artists: Evelyne Axell, Pauline Boty, Vija Celmins, Chryssa, Niki de Saint Phalle, Rosalyn Drexler, Dorothy Grebenak, Kay Kurt, Yayoi Kusama, Lee Lozano, Marisol, Mara McAfee, Barbro Östlihn, Faith Ringgold, Martha Rosler, Marjorie Strider, Alina Szapocznikow, Idelle Weber, Joyce Wieland and May Wilson.

⁵⁰ 'POWER UP - Female Pop Art', 5/11 2010- 8/3 2011 Curated by Angela Stief, Artists: Evelyne Axell, Sister Corita, Christa Dichgans, Rosalyn Drexler, Jann Haworth, Dorothy Iannone, Kiki Kogelnik, Marisol, Niki de Saint Phalle.

⁵¹ Ibid.

The significance of these substantial exhibitions, alongside Tate and Walker Art Center's global Pop and international Pop initiatives of 2015/16, reached beyond the act of revisiting the work of marginalised female artists in London or New York (Marisol, Evelyne Axell, Jann Haworth, Pauline Boty and Rosalyn Drexler, amongst others) to include feminist readings of the work of female artists elsewhere, introducing a number of non-Western artists into the conversation.

My research into Yugoslav female artists focuses in particular on the works of Vera Fischer (1925–2009), Katalin Ladik (1942) and Sanja Iveković (1949), analyzing art made between 1965 and 1975, seeking to understand ways in which Pop became empowering for the artists. The choice to focus on these three artists, amongst several others who worked in the realm of Pop Art in 1960s and 1970s, was due to their pronounced engagement with the possibilities brought about by Pop, which I read as three different forms of resistance and, with varying levels of feminist agency.

In my analysis, in Chapter 7, I assess the varying levels of feminist emancipatory drive in the work of these artists. In the work of Vera Fischer, an artist of an older generation (in relation to the other two), the attempt to place herself 'in the picture' (as we will see, through the incorporation of her own image in the works), operates on a proto-feminist level, demonstrating a drive to problematize her own situation but evidently not yet informed by a feminist discourse. In the work of Katalin Ladik, the feminist tone is not explicit, but her themes directly tackle the position of women in society, through her deployment of domestic materials such as sewing patterns, underwear, or her child's school materials. Ladik does not explicitly articulate her oppression, but it is central in the work through her choice of material and ways in which she deploys it. In the work of Sanja Iveković, by contrast, the feminist politics are immediately evident, as the artist articulates her frustrations, disappointments and a clear awareness of exclusion and discrimination in direct and explicit ways.

5. Pop and Politics—How Critical Was Yugoslav Pop?

The third question, which is predominantly addressed in Chapter 6, concerns the relationship between power, politics and Pop practices in Yugoslavia. This question raises the issue of criticality in Yugoslav Pop.

One of my earliest observations upon embarking on the study of forms of Pop Art in Yugoslavia, was the marked absence of local iconography and topics in the works that I was encountering. Many artworks were full of enthusiasm for pop culture, containing numerous globally recognizable commercial and cultural references (famous bands and their hits, film stars, current events, global brands), but revealed little about local circumstances and domestic issues.

The Rolling Stones and the Beatles, for instance, were ubiquitous in Yugoslav Pop; Slavko Matkovic of the Vojvodina-based group Bosch & Bosch made a series of collages as a homage to both these bands, with titles such as ‘The Rolling Stones are Living in My Street’ (1971), while the Slovenian group OHO made a series of modified matchboxes in 1968 featuring images of both of these bands (Figure 4). OHO’s Super 8 films (many of which were directed by the member Nasko Kriznar) in many cases used Rolling Stones’ tracks as soundtracks, or were named after Rolling Stones’ tracks, for instance the film ‘Nineteenth Nervous Breakdown’ (Devetnaesti Živčni Zlom) made in 1966. Global politics were not absent from OHO's work either. In the 1966 film ‘Eve of Destruction’, set to Barry McGuire's eponymous track featuring apocalyptic lyrics, the video showed daily interventions by the OHO member Marko Pogačnik graffitiing a Ljubljana underpass with slogans against the Vietnam war.

In Zagreb, a series of works by graphic designer and artist Boris Bućan entitled ‘Bućan Art’ (Figure 5) responded to the omnipresence of global brands, media and advertising that began to feature in Yugoslav public space. ‘Bućan Art’ (1972) was a series of fifty paintings featuring appropriated and modified corporate logos of highly recognisable brands, such as Coca-Cola, IBM,

Swissair, BMW and others. These were modified to replace the company name with the word 'art', symbolically placing corporate culture at the service of art.

But amidst this deep engagement with popular culture, references to any form of critical engagement with domestic reality seemed to be lacking. Given the powerful visual iconography of Yugoslavia's communist party and the leader Josip Broz Tito, there seemed to be a persistent avoidance of local representations on the part of Yugoslavia's emerging Pop artists. This absence became one of the central questions of the thesis, with which I aimed to investigate the relationship between power, politics and Pop practices in Yugoslavia.

The question of power and critique becomes pertinent when we expand the definition of pop to be more global, to include countries in which power took different forms than it did in the West. If global, or international Pop includes the output of artists from countries such as China and the Soviet Union where censorship and other forms of state control, and artistic responses often took veiled, indirect forms of protest and criticality, then it is crucial to understand ways in which artists navigated such conditions.

Writing of the People's Republic of China, Kobena Mercer has asked 'where pop was incorporated into the nation building apparatus of the state [...] what options were open to an avant-garde that sought to articulate political and ethical dissent?'.⁵² While the Yugoslav situation was much more liberal than China in the 1980s and 1990s, it is worth adapting this question to the Yugoslav context, because in Yugoslavia it was indeed the case that Pop was incorporated into the nation-building apparatus of the state. Forms of domestic popular culture developed, with a particular iconography used in state ceremonies to demonstrate Yugoslav industrial success, or the ubiquitous image of its leader, Marshall Tito, all made for the country's home-made form of popular culture. Unlike China, or the USSR, in Yugoslavia critical practices were not censored or suppressed, but art and culture did indeed become

⁵² Kobena Mercer (Ed), *Pop Art and Vernacular Cultures* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press and inIVA) 2007, p 9.

instrumentalised and subsumed into state propaganda, serving the country's soft-power politics to demonstrate Yugoslavia's openness and permissiveness.

What did critical practices look like in Yugoslavia, then, and how, if at all, were critical ideas articulated? Chapter 6 identifies the *absent presence* of Tito in art works, focussing on ways in which artists including Mica Popovic, Dušan Otašević, Sanja Iveković and Braco Dimitrijević, amongst others, commented on daily life in Yugoslavia, sometimes in indirect ways. To what extent could artists allow themselves to be critical of a system that was their sole source of support, with no market to fall back on? Unlike Western countries where artists survived through commercial sales of their work, in combination with publicly funded commissions, in Yugoslavia state support was the only possible income stream for an artist. What options were open to those whose work turned to Pop and whose practice dealt with contentious issues within Yugoslav socialism?

6. Thesis Structure And Chapter Summary

The thesis is organised into seven chapters and a conclusion. This chapter – Chapter 1 – ‘Introduction’ has laid out three core research questions.

Chapter 2 covers the technical aspects of the thesis including the methodology. Aiming to outline the original contribution of this PhD, in this chapter I explain the wider context of Tate’s ‘global pop’ research, my involvement with the ‘The World Goes Pop’ exhibition, and how this thesis fits within it. In this chapter I also seek to contextualise this research within my wider curatorial practice, briefly introducing a parallel project which emerged during this research and was thematically connected – an exhibition and events I curated, entitled ‘Monuments Should Not Be Trusted’ (Nottingham Contemporary, 2016), which is closely related to this thesis and emerged from the same research.

This chapter also highlights the key challenges in the project of revisiting aspects of cultural histories of Yugoslavia – the tendencies towards historical revisionism since the breakup of Yugoslavia fuelled by new nationalistic narratives of the seven successor countries. It points to the tropes of reading Yugoslav culture via the lens of the totalitarian paradigm, via historical revisionism which dismisses it as a failed alternative to capitalism, or via ‘Yugonostalgia’, as posited by political theorist Gal Kirn. The chapter also introduces initiatives which counter these tendencies, broadly articulated as ‘Yugoslav Studies’.

In Chapter 3 – ‘Having Versus Knowing’ I deal with the emergence of popular culture in Yugoslavia via the study of consumerism, Western cultural influences and their impact on everyday life. This chapter introduces and discusses the term ‘*utopian consumerism*’, coined by the art historian Branislav

Dimitrijević.⁵³ In this chapter I claim that in the case of Yugoslav artists, consumerism was treated as information received from afar, and less as daily, lived experience. I examine the balance between Yugoslav Pop artists' engagement with foreign content, and the daily experience of Yugoslav home-grown popular culture. This chapter addresses the question of the recognition of 'discrete otherness'⁵⁴ of Pop manifestations across different geographies. It concludes by introducing two sub-categories of Yugoslav Pop: Pop Reactions and Countercultural Pop.

Chapter 4—'The Two Strands Of Yugoslav Pop: Pop Reactions And Countercultural Pop' seeks to map out the plurality of Yugoslav pop practices, with a view to understanding the dynamics across this map, and ways in which these diverse practices operated in relation to one another. This is an introduction to the genealogy of Yugoslav post-war practices with reference to the work of the Yugoslav art historian Ješa Denegri, who, in 1977, introduced a delineation between 'mainstream' practices and those that he named the 'alternative route'. This chapter begins with a historiographical overview of Yugoslav modernity, examining both Yugoslav and international scholarship on modernity in Yugoslavia from late 1950s through to the late 1970s. The chapter covers significant changes in Yugoslav cultural policy during this period, exploring the shifting role of the artist in society and introducing the Yugoslav system of self-management, in relation to the development of artistic agency.

The chapter explores the way in which the place of artists in society was envisaged within self-management, Yugoslavia's own form of socialism developed in 1950s. Here I examine ways in which an individual's sense of self-realization gradually became intertwined with the political goals of the new Yugoslavia, and I explore artists' varying positions in relation to Yugoslav ideology. In this chapter I expand on my central thesis, which is that

⁵³ Branislav Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam : Nastanak I Protivrečnosti Potrošačke Kulture U Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1950-1970)*, Doktorska Disertacija, (Utopian Consumerism: The Emergence And The Contradictions Of The Consumer Culture In Socialist Yugoslavia (1950-1970)) PhD, (Belgrade: University Of Arts In Belgrade, 2011).

⁵⁴ A term used by art historian David Fehrer in his essay 'The 'Pop Problem' – Pop Art and East Central Europe', in *Ludwig Goes Pop + The East Side Story*, p. 121.

manifestations of Yugoslav Pop can broadly be divided into two categories: ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’ and ‘Yugoslav Countercultural Pop’, and I discuss their fundamental differences. The chapter then goes on to analyse both categories in the context of their lineage, in relation to Denegri’s taxonomy.

Chapter 5, entitled ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’, examines the key characteristics of the work of artists whose practices can be categorised under this umbrella. The analysis focuses on artists whose work was present in three key exhibitions—the ‘Pop Art’ solo exhibition of Olja Ivanjicki (1964) self-declared as Yugoslavia’s first Pop artist, group exhibitions ‘New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle’ (1966) and ‘Expressive Figuration of the Young Ljubljana Circle’ (1968) which all took place in Belgrade, involving groups of artists from both Serbia and Slovenia. The analysis focuses on the work of Olja Ivanjicki, Dragoš Kalajić, Lojze Logar, Metka Krašovec, Zmago Jeraj and Boris Jesih, concluding with a case study of the work of Dušan Otašević.

The chapter examines the works themselves alongside their critical reception, returning to the question posed in the first chapter, to do with the extent to which Yugoslav Pop Reactions was a form of political practice, engaging with events at home, and to what extent it was a local adaptation of international currents and themes. In this chapter I ask whether Yugoslav Pop Reactions artists developed an authentic, local form of Pop Art, or whether their experiments remained on the level of emulating the Western Pop image.

Chapter 6, which is entitled ‘Critical Pop – The Absent Presence of Tito’, centres on different strategies employed by Yugoslav artists to comment on domestic events, and life in socialist Yugoslavia. It examines ways in which socialist iconography, including the image of president Tito, made its way into Yugoslav pop, in some cases directly, and in others through the ‘Aesopian Language’ in which Tito’s presence was inferred, not represented.

The chapter opens with the analysis of several rare examples of representations of the image of Tito in artists’ work, with case studies of a censored 1974 exhibition by Mića Popović, the piece ‘Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our

Youth Loves You' by Dušan Otašević's and the 1971 film 'Plastic Jesus' by the film-maker Lazar Stojanović.

The chapter then moves on to explore works which referred to Tito without representing him directly. With reference to Jacques Derrida's notion of 'the trace', the analysis analyses allegorical works in which Tito's presence is inferred, not shown. Examples include works by Braco Dimitrijević, Sanja Iveković and Mladen Stilinović. The chapter outlines different forms of censorship and control, focussing on negotiations of self-censorship within self-management.

Chapter 7 entitled 'Gender Difference in Yugoslav Pop and Female Artists' Use of Tabloid Media', problematises the rapidly shifting gender roles in Yugoslav socialism, exploring both ways in which Yugoslav ideology dealt with gender difference, and ways in which artists, both male and female addressed questions of gender identity in their work. The chapter covers key shifts in the position of women in Yugoslav society from the late 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s, analyzing ways in which these changes affected the work of female artists engaging with Pop. With reference to feminist poststructuralist conceptions of agency, in this chapter I attempt to tackle the complexity of Yugoslav gender relations from the perspective of agency as socially constructed. The chapter also traces the paths of exclusion of female artists from Western Pop, drawing parallels with ways in which Yugoslav female artists remained marginalized from the artistic mainstream structures. In the chapter I go on to discuss the way in which objectified female bodies begin to appear in Yugoslav pop, using as examples the works of the 'Ekspresivna Figuralika' artists Franc Novinc, Boris Jesih and Janez Bernik, and ways in which other artists problematize and challenge gender relations, namely works of Marko Pogačnik and Tomislav Gotovac.

The chapter concludes with case studies of works by three female Yugoslav artists who embraced Pop materials and techniques—Vera Fischer (1925–2009), Katalin Ladik (1942-) and Sanja Iveković (1949-)⁵⁵, analyzing works made

between 1965 and 1975.

Finally, in the 'Conclusion' I return to the three core research questions providing a closing discussion on each, in light of the original contribution of this thesis – the structuring of Yugoslav Pop into Mainstream and Countercultural Pop. In this last chapter the thesis returns to questions of historiography and decolonising and feminising of Pop Art, in the wider context the notion of *global* or *international* Pop.

7. Chapter 1 Illustrations



Figure 1.

Tomislav Gotovac, *Showing Elle* (1962)



Figure 2.

Kiki Kogelnik, *Bombs in Love* (1962)



Figure 3.

Antonio Dias, *Note on the Unforeseen Death* (1965)



Figure 4.

Top Left: OHO– *Rolling Stones Matchboxes* (1968)

Top Right: OHO– *The Beatles Matchboxes* (1968)

Bottom: OHO– *The Beatles Matchboxes* (1968)



Figure 5.

Boris Bućan, *Bućan Art* (1972)

Chapter 2 – How To Write About Seven Countries That Used To Be One?

1. The Context of Tate's 'Global Pop' Research

This thesis is associated with the 'global pop' project at Tate Modern, initiated by Tate's Daskalopoulos Curator of International Art, Jessica Morgan⁵⁶, with co-curator Flavia Frigeri. Tate's research into 'global pop'⁵⁷ (a term introduced by the project's curators) began in 2009/10, involved several years' worth of international travel on the part of the curatorial team, visiting key sites of 'global pop' with a view to researching local manifestations of Pop Art and understanding local contexts. The research sought to identify works for inclusion in the 'The World Goes Pop' exhibition, which were in some cases also acquired for Tate's collection (the sculptural work 'The Last Table' (1970) by the Colombian artist Beatriz Gonzales and a series of works by the Iranian artist Parviz Tanavoli were purchased and subsequently shown in the exhibition).⁵⁸ Additionally a number of experts on particular regions were brought on board as part of the global pop research team⁵⁹ in order to advise on specific countries, or regions, of key significance. Much of this, and other scholars' existing research into local forms of pop, saw its first public outcome at the two-day 'Global Pop symposium'⁶⁰ held at Tate Modern in March 2013,

⁵⁶ Morgan left Tate in early 2015 but continued to be involved in 'The World Goes Pop' exhibition which opened in September 2015.

⁵⁷ Tate articulates this undertaking in this way: 'From Latin America to Asia, and from Europe to the Middle East, this explosive exhibition connects the dots between art produced around the world during the 1960s and 1970s, showing how different cultures and countries responded to the movement.', Tate Modern: <<http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/exhibition/ey-exhibition-world-goes-pop>>, last accessed 27 May 2016.

⁵⁸ Works by Parviz Tanavoli that were acquired on this occasion were the sculptural work 'The Poet and the Beloved of the King' (1964–6), the wool carpet entitled 'Disciples of Sheikh San'an' (1974) and screenprints on paper entitled 'Nightingale' (1974), 'Poet and Bird', (1974), 'Poet and Nightingale' (1974), 'Poet Squeezing Lemon' (1974), 'Three Lovers' (1974).

⁵⁹ Experts brought into the global pop team were: David Crowley (Eastern Europe), Kalliopi Minioudaki (female pop artists), Reiko Tomii (Japanese Pop Art) and Mercedes Trelles-Hernandez (Latin America).

⁶⁰ For full video documentation of 'Global Pop', held at Tate Modern on 14 and 15 March 2013: <<http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/conference/global-pop-symposium>>, last accessed 10 May 2016.

which first introduced the term to the public. In the course of the research two regions were identified as being in particularly fertile grounds for further study – Latin America and Eastern Europe. As a result, two Collaborative Doctoral Awards⁶¹ were made available in 2012, in collaboration with Chelsea College of Art and Royal College of Art, each bringing in a scholar to study one of the above regions.

In July 2012 I was successful in obtaining one of these research opportunities, having responded to the call to research Pop Art in Eastern Europe, with a proposal to focus on Pop Art in the former Yugoslavia in 1960s and 1970s, with supervision being provided by the show's curator Jessica Morgan and the Head of Critical Writing in Art and Design, at the Royal College of Art, David Crowley. A fellow researcher, Sofia Gotti, simultaneously embarked on doctoral research into Pop Art in Latin America under the title 'Counterculture in Pop: South American Art in the 1960s'.

This research project was, then, from the very outset envisaged as operating on two parallel tracks. One aspect of my work lay in maintaining a close relationship with the development of 'The World Goes Pop' [TWGP] exhibition and as my research progressed offering support, guidance, suggestions with regards to my own topic – practices across the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The second aspect was the parallel development of my own thesis, which was to unfold in close proximity but not necessarily entirely related to TWGP's development.

The methodology and sources for the latter will be discussed in the sections to follow, so here I will only offer a short summary of the work which intersected with the development of TWGP and the way in which this process influenced and shaped aspects of the thesis. My role in relation to TWGP took multiple forms over the period of the research. It was mostly concentrated over the first

⁶¹ Collaborative Doctoral Awards (CDA) are studentships funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council and offered through a collaboration between Tate and a number of UK Universities. The awards provide opportunities for doctoral students to contribute their research to Tate's programmes and projects and gain professional experience working in the museum. For more information see: <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/our-work/tate-research/research-at-tate>, last accessed 27 May 2016.

year and a half of my research. The work ranged from the practical tasks which involved me acting as a liaison between museums, artists, collectors and scholars in the region (specifically Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia) and the Tate curatorial team, to sourcing contacts and arranging visits, translating, and, at a later date, liaising with lenders.

In February 2013, just over six months into my research, I travelled together with one of the exhibition's curators, Jessica Morgan, to Zagreb, Croatia, and Ljubljana, Slovenia, to visit museums and private collections, artists' estates and to conduct studio visits.⁶² This experience was crucial in accelerating my overall understanding of the exhibition's remit and the curatorial methodology, as well as gaining an insight into local artists' and curators' own views in relation to Pop Art and its place in Yugoslav art.⁶³ It was also an opportunity to see many of the artworks I had been studying, for the first time in the flesh.

The significance of this part of the research, closely focused on artworks, lay in gaining access to works which are not held in public collections, therefore for the first time shedding a light on works which had been held in depots for decades, in some cases, and consequently have remained unanalysed and in many cases unseen by the larger public. This was the case in particular with works by the late Vera Fischer which I was able to see in her house in Babonjiceva Street in Zagreb, works, notes and performance ephemera by Tomislav Gotovac accessed at the Gotovac Institute in Zagreb (the flat which used to be occupied by the now deceased artist), collages by August Černigoj at the Lipica Art Gallery in Slovenia, the complete opus of Super 8 films by the group OHO, sketches, photographs and correspondence by Bogdanka Poznanović, the copious correspondence around the Gorgona project all of which are located in the depots of the Marinko Sudac collection in Zagreb.

⁶² The visits included Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb, the Marinko Sudac Collection, the Gotovac Institute and a visit to the studio of Sanja Iveković, Zagreb. In Ljubljana the visit included meetings with artists Lojze Logar, Berko, Metka Krašovec, Zmago Jeraj, art historian Petja Grafenauer, a visit to MGLC (the Slovenian Graphics Centre), a meeting with Zdenka Badovinac, Director; and Igor Spanjol, Curator, of the Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana.

⁶³ My involvement in TWGP also included a participation in the day workshop along with the team of curatorial advisors on the exhibition, a contribution to the exhibition catalogue through researching and writing approximately twenty biographies of artists included in the exhibition. Once the exhibition opened I was also involved in one of the public events. In November 2015, I presented a short summary of the Yugoslav context, alongside participating artists Sanja Iveković (Croatia) and Martha Rosler (USA).

In some cases this method of research unearthed previously unknown and unseen works by well-known artists, for example Sanja Iveković's student works, which I discuss in Chapter Seven, which the artist located in her archive for the purpose of this research.

2. Tracing Omitted Histories – A Curatorial Trajectory

Embarking on this thesis came as a logical step in my own trajectory of curatorial and research work focussed on the historicisation of art from the 'former East' combined with, where possible, bringing to UK audiences previously underrepresented practices from the region, with a particular interest in the former Yugoslavia. At the point of commencing the PhD, I had been working in the role of Artistic Director (2011–2013) at the Calvert 22 Foundation in London, where I was responsible for the visual arts programme of this, the UK's only foundation focussed on art and culture of the 'former East'.⁶⁴

My work at Calvert 22 had in this period developed a number of characteristics which proved to be methodologically aligned with The World Goes Pop project, namely the centrality of research in devising public programming. Having identified a relative lack of familiarity on the part of Calvert 22's audiences, with both modern and contemporary artistic practices from the region, as well as the limited scope of exchange and discourse connecting the UK and Calvert 22's region of focus (Central Asia, Russia, Eastern Europe), I chose to shift the emphasis of the programme from being exhibition-centred, towards a decisive focus on research and discourse.

My aim with this shift was to open up a discursive space in which I sought to problematize issues inherent in exhibiting post-socialist cultural outputs in the UK, in the context of, in this case, a privately funded, not-for-profit foundation.

⁶⁴ Calvert 22 Foundation's mission is 'to support and share the contemporary culture and creativity of the new east – Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Russia and Central Asia – enriching perceptions of the region and furthering international understanding.' Calvert 22 Foundation website: <http://calvert22.org/about/calvert-22-foundation/>, last accessed 27 May 2016.

⁶⁵ Equally I sought to build up the knowledge-base of local histories of the work presented, addressing issues of cultural translation and cross-contextualisation between regions, examining the methods as well as the content, gradually drawing up horizontal histories, addressing specificities of individual countries, drawing up East-East trajectories, as well as East-West ones, therefore revisiting hegemonic histories and gradually introducing artists from the region to UK audiences. Wishing to place a strong focus on research meant that in 2011 I re-launched the Calvert 22 artistic programme with a new structure, reducing the number of large scale exhibitions, and investing more staff and financial resources into research, which was structured into two-year 'Core Research Strands'.

Much like The World Goes Pop approach which focussed on not only the works, but also on understanding the context of the localities in which 'global pop' emerged, underpinned by extensive research in the region itself, the Calvert 22's programme which I introduced was a curatorial intervention, focussed on creating a context for the work that was to be exhibited. Adopting the cultural studies approach of 'culture as text'⁶⁶ whereby text refers to 'fabrics of knowledge that can be used as reference, including oral texts, social text and academic texts' in which exhibited material was used as a point of departure, or 'a text' inspiring close readings on a number of diverse topics emerging from it. ⁶⁷ The discursive programme, further inspired by the work of Stuart Hall and the notion of 'decoding' and 'encoding' explored from multiple perspectives the contexts of the local situations that the work had been created in. ⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Calvert 22 is owned by the Russian philanthropist and economist Nonna Materkova, and the artistic programme, at the time of my employment there, was predominantly funded by VTB Capital – Russia's largest investment bank, occasionally supplemented by smaller grants and partnership funds.

⁶⁶ The metaphor of 'culture as text' was introduced by the American anthropologist Clifford James Geertz who proposed in his 1972 article "*Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight*" that an entire culture could be 'read' as 'text' and that fieldwork (in this case research) done by the anthropologist is the act of 'reading' that culture. See: Clifford Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1974.

⁶⁷ Stuart Hall (Ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), p 166.

⁶⁸ The theory of 'encoding and decoding', central to the work of Stuart Hall, proposes that culture is not simply transmitted, but is produced. For further information see: Stuart Hall (Ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997)

Within this programme a strong focus was placed on the former Yugoslavia, and the first of the research strands was the project 'Archive as Strategy– Conversations around self-historicization across the East'⁶⁹ which focussed on the self-historicization and grassroots initiatives of the art from the region, departed from a number of artists' archives from the region of the former Yugoslavia.

As part of this role I also had the opportunity to curate the first UK retrospectives of the work of the Slovenian group IRWIN (part of Neue Slowenische Kunst collective), along with taking part in convening a conference at Tate Modern in May 2012 (prior to the start of my work on the thesis). It was in particular my engagement with the project 'East Art Map', and the experience of co-organising, with Dr. Sarah James (Lecturer in History of Art at University College London) a conference on the subject in May 2012 spearheaded by the Slovenian group IRWIN in 2000, that led me to embark on a more in-depth investigation of the way in which art from the region is historicised, exhibited and disseminated, and in particular with a view to revisiting and rethinking the historical omissions of art from the 'former East'.

Most significantly and of most relevance to this thesis was my work on the first UK retrospective of the Croatian feminist and conceptualist Sanja Iveković, (whose work I write about in detail in Chapters 6 and 7), with accompanying conferences developed in collaboration with academic partners.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ 'Archive As Strategy: Conversations Around Self-historicisation Across the East ' which took place at London's Calvert 22 Foundation between 2011 and 2013, used case studies of self-archiving initiatives from the 'former East' to discuss site-specificity, archives, agency and historicisation. The series formed the core of the Foundation's research programme over the two years and took the form of seminars, lectures and workshops which were all fully documented by audio and sometimes video (and continue to be available online) on the series' website <www.archiveastrategy.org>; During the two years of the series, the following artists and curators (in alphabetical order) participated in Archive as Strategy series: Lutz Becker, Barnabás Bencsik, Charles Esche, Gediminas Gasparavičius, Eva Hoffman, IRWIN, Sarah James, Klara Kemp-Welch, Marysia Lewandowska, Karolina Lewandowska, Suzana Milevska, Saša Nabergoj, Luiza Nader, Csaba Nemes, Nataša Petrešin-Bachelez, Karol Sienkiewicz, Zsuzsanna Stánitz, Milena Tomić, Jelena Vesic, Jonah Westerman, Luisa Ziaja; All events were curated by Lina Džuverović with individual sessions being co-curated with guest curators Nataša Petrešin-Bachelez, Dominik Czechowski, Sarah James and Zsuzsanna Stánitz co-curating individual events.

⁷⁰ In 2013/14 I initiated and curated the exhibition 'Unknown Heroine' which took place across South London Gallery and Calvert 22. The exhibition involved a contextual programme of talks, and most notably the conference '23%' which I convened as a partnership between Calvert 22 Foundation, South London Gallery, Royal College of Art Critical Writing Department and the Courtauld Institute Research Forum. The Conference took place at the Royal College of Art in January 2013. The

The substantial experience of working across the region of the former Yugoslavia, and a well-developed network of contacts across the region and the UK, meant that the PhD formed a continuation of existing work through which I sought to create scholarly links between the region of the former Yugoslavia and the UK, which I had by this point identified as lacking. The research on the thesis therefore seamlessly linked to my previous work, enabling me to now specifically revisit the work of ex- Yugoslav artists in the 1960s and 1970s, approaching it via the lens of popular culture and Pop Art.

3. Personal History and Affiliation

The focus on the former Yugoslavia as the geographical region for my thesis was not incidental. Having spent the first sixteen years of my life in Belgrade, then capital of Yugoslavia, I had personally witnessed the effects of cultural shifts that in this thesis I will go on to name ‘countercultural pop’. Having been born in Ljubljana and raised in Belgrade meant that the personal experience of growing up in Yugoslavia in the 1980s ensured a deep understanding of cultural life in the period just after the emergence of forms of Pop Art in the country. This experience of everyday life as a teenager in Belgrade gave me an understanding of the significance of television (a key site for artistic ‘pop’ production), magazines and the crossovers between art and music communities had for Yugoslav artists. In particular, the lived experience of artistic communities gathered around Belgrade’s Student Cultural Centre proved invaluable in understanding the overall context in which Yugoslav Pop had emerged. In a sense, having personally experienced in the 1980s the effects of cultural developments of the 1960s and 1970s, provided me with a sense of intimately knowing a later chapter of a narrative I was trying to construct.

Additionally my experience of living in Yugoslavia and the use of Serbo-Croat meant that I had access to material available in Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin and, with a certain amount of help from peers and colleagues,

also Slovene. In conducting interviews (in local languages), the first-hand knowledge of the artistic scene in 1980s' Yugoslavia ensured a certain sense of a common ground and a shared history with my subjects, many of whom had been key protagonists (as artists, curators, art historians, gallery directors) on the artistic scene I once voraciously consumed in as a teenager. Conducting interviews in the local languages also ensured that original terminology was used, and determined the tone of the conversation (for a full list of interviews see Appendix), as fully discussed in the 'Interviews' section below.

4. Looking, Listening, Visiting –Curatorial Approach as Methodology

'Shut up and look' was the advice that curator Ingrid Schaffner received from an artist, and which she later noted as one of her working maxims in a book on curatorial strategies.⁷¹ I often borrow Schaffner's phrase to begin my lectures on curating. In many ways, this advice – to first and foremost allow the artworks to speak – also functioned as my approach when beginning this research, facing a multitude of varied practices, spanning a twenty-year period of Yugoslav art. My approach was to begin with studio visits, interviews and to spend time looking at the relevant artworks, and allowing them to guide my trajectory.

My background and experience meant that I approached the PhD from a distinctly curatorial perspective – one of quiet observation at first. The 'curatorial lens' involved examining the questions at hand by departing from practice, rather than theory. It meant placing artworks, and artists at the centre, as well as the study of their social contexts. This approach also echoed what I most valued about Yugoslav practices – the entanglement of community-building with art production (in particular in the case of Student Cultural Centres, as will be discussed in Chapters to come). Aside from my own curatorial experience and working methods, the close link with the development of The World Goes Pop exhibition necessitated a focus on specific artworks, as a form of research for the exhibition, with a view to the

⁷¹ Jean-Christophe Ammann, Judith Richards and others, *Words of Wisdom: A Curator's Vade Mecum on Contemporary Art* (New York: Independent Curators International, 2001) pg 148.

potential inclusion in the exhibition of some of the works identified through my research.⁷² With this in mind, perhaps to an extent uncharacteristically for doctoral research, my starting points were interviews with artists and visits to their studios, interviews with art historians and curators, visits to museums and their depots as well as visits to artist estates.

Departing from the information gathered through a study of artworks and interviews with key artists, curators and art historians, I expanded my research into an analysis of the writing published at the time around these works and exhibitions. This included seeking out original exhibition catalogues, magazine and newspaper articles and reviews. This was then analysed in light of the wider socio-political context, paying attention to key events in Yugoslavia, political changes, and significant art events.

The advantages of this method lay in gaining access to artworks that had not previously been written about or indeed documented outside the ex-Yugoslav territory, and in some cases, work that had been neglected altogether even by Yugoslav scholars. One of the original contributions of this thesis lies precisely in the breath of examples of artworks which in many cases on this occasion receive their first analyses in the English language. For instance in Chapter 7, I write about Sanja Iveković's student experiments with screen printing which predate any of the work for which the artist has become known internationally. Similarly the work of Vera Fischer and Katalin Ladik (discussed in Chapter 7), as well as the feminist comic strips 'Tinza' and 'Juno' by Marko Pogačnik had never previously received such thorough analyses in relation to popular culture and from a feminist perspective. In Chapter 5 the analysis of the reception of the Pop Art exhibition by Olja Ivanjicki had not been previously covered in the context of Pop in the country. Equally, many of the collage works had not previously been written in the context of Pop, such as works of August Černigoj, Tomislav Gotovac, Vera Fischer, Katalin Ladik and Olja Ivanjicki.

⁷² From across the territory of the former Yugoslavia works by Dušan Otašević, Boris Bucan and Sanja Iveković were included in the exhibition.

i. The Complex Lives of Archives

Aside from interviews, the research primarily took place across archives, and collections (private and museum) and libraries in the largest cultural centres on the territory of the former Yugoslavia —Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana— as this is where artistic practices of focus unfolded. Additionally I was able to access some resources in the UK at the British Library, while for others I needed to travel to specific, and sometimes remote destinations, such as the small Slovenian village of Lipica (a tourist destination shared by the world famous ‘Lipicaner’ horses, and the gallery of August Černigoj) where the August Černigoj archive is held, and to Budapest to visit the artist Katalin Ladik and see works in her archive. The material I sought from archives and libraries mostly focused on publications of the period including exhibition reviews in both art magazines and the general press, exhibition catalogues, promotional material for exhibitions (posters, flyers, invitations) as well as original photographs. A wider sense of the cultural moment could also be gleaned as a secondary outcome of my research, such as, to choose one instance— newspaper coverage I encountered on topical debates of erotic content tabloid magazines in 1969s —which proved to be useful background research for Chapter 7, on the emergence of the pin up in Yugoslav press in the 1969s.

The main challenges encountered in terms of archival research had to do with the time needed to understand the organisation of different archives, and to grasp how to best articulate my search in order to access the most relevant content. The sense of an enormous wealth of information being almost at my fingertips, but still being filtered and constrained by time, archival systems or simply the overwhelming sense of there being too much archive to be able to systematically process, governed my experience of searching through the archives I visited.

As Jacques Derrida pointed out in *Archive Fever*, to suffer from archive fever, or *mal’ d archive* is ‘never to rest, interminably from searching for the archive

right where it slips away. It is to run after the archive, even if there's too much of it, right where something in it anarchives itself.'⁷³ This was precisely the case with, for instance, the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade archive which, due to funding shortages, goes some way towards being accessible and systematic (with a small percentage of material being digitised), with a wealth of material present in the physical space of the archive at the Centre in central Belgrade, but simply not easily accessible due to a lack of resources that would allow systematic cataloguing. The archive, containing over 60 000 items from the period between 1971 and 1999, thus relies on the knowledge and enthusiasm of its former archivist (accessible by phone via current staff) and a small team.

Private archives also faced a host of challenges, combined with the excitement of discovering rare and often unexpected materials. For instance the Sudac Collection archive in Zagreb, despite the collector's enormous generosity with his time, knowledge and an insatiable hunger to study and analyse the contents of his archive, remained largely off limits simply due to the difficulty of access given that it is mostly based the collector's home and his other properties. With over 20,000 individual items, the Sudac collection includes artworks, correspondence, notebooks, magnetic tapes, sketchbooks, photographs, negatives and other ephemera of avant-garde practices from the region of central and eastern Europe between 1909 and 1989, with items scattered around a number of private addresses in Zagreb, only accessible in the company of the collector himself.⁷⁴ Issues emerging from the private nature of such archives include the lack of systematic archiving, conservation and digitisation systems (despite the collector's best efforts to make the archive as accessible as possible), and difficulty of access for researchers and professionals to access and study the archive.

⁷³ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996) p 91

⁷⁴ I must here extend my gratitude to Marinko Sudac who invested many hours in helping me navigate a way through his archive, organizing material, copying it onto memory cards, as well as providing contacts and introductions for a number of key artists for my research. For a list of artists whose material is included in the Sudac collection see <<http://www.avantgarde-museum.com/en/museum/collection/>>, last accessed 28 February 2017.

Other, more institutional archives with stronger infrastructural support, such as the Croatian Academy for Arts and Sciences (HAZU) Fine Art Archives, the Serbian Radio-television Archive, and the Ljubljana Moderna galerija / Museum of Modern Art Library and Documentation-Archive, for instance, proved to be easier to access and navigate.

ii. Interviews

Over the course of the research I interviewed over twenty artists, curators, art historians, in some cases more than once (the full list can be seen in the Appendix). Here I wish to briefly discuss why interviews were the best first step towards researching Yugoslav Pop Art.

Although much has been written about /by many of the artists and curators that are the subject of this thesis, rarely has the context of Pop Art been brought up in existing literature. Aside from a minority of Pop Reactions artists – namely artists associated with ‘Nova Figuracija’ in Belgrade (Dušan Otašević, Dragos Kalajić etc.) and the Slovenian artists exhibited under the ‘Ekspresivna Figuralika’ descriptor (Lojze Logar, Metka Krašovec etc.), none of the other artists had approached their work in the context of Pop. Hence, writing about their work from this perspective needed analysis. I was not only interested in the artists’ and curators’ own views on Pop Art in Yugoslavia as such, but also in the way international media, brands and images found their way into their lives and their work, what foreign and domestic media and publications they were reading, what international art they had come across and in what context. It is through the interviews that certain patterns soon began to emerge. For instance the significance of the GEFF film festival in Zagreb in bringing in experimental content and approaches (GEFF was curated by P. Adams Sitney in 1967), the significance foreign reading rooms (such as British Council or Alliance Française) as key sources of information, mail-order magazines such as Neckermann and other similar examples. My interview questions (see Appendix 1) were broadly similar as an overall structure, but then developed through discussion with individual interviewees.

While my choice to conduct interviews as one of my main methods, proved valuable as it revealed a wealth of new information, enabling me to ask specific questions with reference to the ‘pop angle’ of the thesis, I was also aware of the pitfalls of interviewing as a research method. As my questions were investigating events that took place over thirty years ago, my subjects could not be expected to remember the details of events, or indeed to recall how they perceived those events at the time. Interviews also tend to be somewhat informal and this often meant that it was easy for the conversation to become a pleasant ‘chat’, often digressing and not gathering information that was specific enough to be useful. There are also, naturally, complex issues to be taken into consideration in relation to the war and memory in Yugoslavia, in that the horrific events of the 1990s across the Yugoslav republics affected all my interviewees in a range of ways, at times making it difficult to talk about the period that came shortly after the time we were discussing.

Also, the way one poses questions always impacts the response, and I was often aware that the perspective of Pop Art that was being brought forward was giving a particular slant to the discussion, possibly generating a reading of works and situations that perhaps otherwise would not have come up. Discussing Pop Art retrospectively meant that new meanings and connections were being made, which perhaps were brought about by the way I had asked the questions.

I remained mindful of this in the way I ‘processed’ the interviews, wherever possible checking the data against other sources such as catalogues, newspaper and magazine reviews or against other interviews covering the same topic.

iii. Translation as Meaning-construction

A significant element of the thesis centred on the question of translation, introducing myriad practical and ethical issues that come with that territory. Almost all interviews were conducted in Serbo-Croat (with the exception Slovenian interviewees who spoke to me either in English or in sometimes rudimentary Serbo-Croat), which was also the language in which most of the

art historical and critical texts of the period had been written. The task of translation took a much bigger role than I had anticipated.

Yugoslavia was a multi-lingual country in which three official languages were spoken: Serbo-Croat,⁷⁵ Slovenian and Macedonian. In the republics of Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia, Serbo-Croat was the main language, with Bosnian and Montenegrin versions being variants of the same language. Additionally, a number of minority languages were spoken in the country and these included (in order of usage) Albanian, Hungarian, Turkish, Bulgarian, Romanian, Italian, Vlach, Czechoslovak, Slovak, Ruthenian, and Gypsy. Serbo-Croat⁷⁶ in Yugoslav times included two alphabets, Cyrillic and Latin, which were used in parallel in education and all public communication (primary school teaching in Yugoslavia included alternating classes in Cyrillic and Latin alphabets across the country, which was combined with Slovenian and Macedonian in those republics).

In my research, I have encountered sources in Serbo-Croat (both alphabets), Serbian, Croatian (in the case of texts written in post Yugoslav years), Slovenian and in a few cases, Hungarian. Due to the geographic spread of my research (centred on Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia), I have not encountered any texts in Macedonian nor any other of the minority languages used in Yugoslavia.

I have systematically transcribed and translated these interviews, using my own English language translations in the quotes used in the thesis.⁷⁷ This process proved to be more complex than anticipated, not due to any technical translation difficulties, but to the ethical questions involved. I was reminded of Gayatri Spivak writing on the task of the feminist postcolonial translator in

⁷⁵ Serbo-Croat had an eastern and a Western variant; it was written in the Latin alphabet in Croatia and in the Cyrillic alphabet in Serbia and Montenegro. Both alphabets were used in Bosnia and Hercegovina. source: http://www.photius.com/countries/croatia/society/yugoslavia_former_society_languages.html, accessed 22 October 2014

⁷⁶ Following the country's demise Serbo-Croat was split into Serbian (spoken in Serbia), Croatian (spoken in Croatia), Bosnian (Spoken in Bosnia) and Montenegrin (spoken in Montenegro).

⁷⁷ Here I must credit Vesna Džuverović, who is a certified legal translator in Serbia for six languages. I often sent her my versions of translated passages to check and suggest edits where relevant. This was particularly useful in the case of names of institutions, legal issues and bureaucratic language which I sometimes found challenging to translate.

which she outlines the relationship between the process of translation and the construction of meaning: ‘the politics of translation takes on a massive life of its own if you see language as the process of meaning-construction. In my view, language may be one of many elements that allow us to make sense of things, of ourselves.[...] Making sense of ourselves is what produces identity.’⁷⁸

The ethical decisions involved in the task of translation appeared at every step, from the selection of best-suited terminology to the level to which the text was ‘adapted’ to fit into academic language. Interviews, by their very nature are informal. Their structure varies and the interviewee to a large extent determines the course of the interview despite a prepared list of questions. In many cases, in particular with interviews that were informal and relaxed, I faced choices in translation between ‘tidying them up’ and leaving them as they were. In these cases I have, wherever possible, included the exact original version in the footnotes, while providing a simplified, more succinct version in the text. Exceptions were made in some cases which necessitated the full extent of the way things were said. An example is the case of an extended quote in Chapter 5 by Dušan Otašević, whose uncertain and hesitant tone reflected his discomfort in articulating forms of censorship he had encountered in his youth.

In the case of the interviews (as I also translated numerous newspaper articles and critical texts), I was also aware of holding numerous roles: from being the interviewer asking the questions (which I myself had shaped), to being the translator, as well as the author of the text. It was this combination of roles that often gave me a sense of, at times, having too much control over the material. If I occupied all of these roles, was the voice of the interviewee not in danger of getting lost in my process of translating, editing and narrativising? It is for this reason that I have only turned to small excerpts of interviews, relying on them more as background research and additional data, than material to excessively rely on in the body of the thesis.

⁷⁸ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Outside in the Teaching Machine’, *The Politics of Translation*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), p 197.

In the cases of Slovenian translation of existing texts, the process has been less straightforward, but in the cases of selected short excerpts, I have been able to rely on colleagues who speak the language for translation, combining this with my own rudimentary understanding of the language.

5. Monuments Should Not Be Trusted—Challenging the Totalitarian Paradigm

During the course of my research, given its curatorial approach, I began to see the potential of exhibiting the work I was researching, and felt especially enthusiastic about this prospect because much of the work had not previously been shown in the UK. Towards the very end of my AHRC grant, in 2015, an opportunity arose to present the research I had been working on in the form of an exhibition and accompanying events at Nottingham Contemporary. As a result of this commission I conceived an exhibition entitled ‘Monuments Should Not Be Trusted’⁷⁹ (MSNBT), which opened in January 2016 and brought together over one hundred works I that I had encountered, and written about during the research for this thesis.

The exhibition (Figures 1 to 5)—had a strong pop focus, by seeking out work that engaged with popular culture, inspired by key research questions of my thesis. I decided to organize it into four intersecting themes, examining what I perceived to be four key contradictions in Yugoslav society, explained below. The pop aspect was highlighted in the curatorial decision to display different types of content, such as art projects commissioned for television, music videos, objects made by the Yugoslav public as gifts for Tito and posters from the period in the same way as artworks. No hierarchical division was made in terms of display between popular content and unique museum pieces. This was

⁷⁹ ‘Monuments Should Not be Trusted’ was shown at Nottingham Contemporary between 16 Jan 2016 and 04 Mar 2016. The exhibition featured the work of Marina Abramović, Zemira Alajbegović (Gledališče FV), Lutz Becker, August Černigoj, Goran Djordjević, Vera Fischer, Karpo Godina, Tomislav Gotovac, Sanja Iveković, Katalin Ladik, Lojze Logar, Dušan Makavejev, Goranka Matić, Slavko Matković, NSK/New Collectivism, OHO, Dušan Otasević, Zoran Popović, Bogdanka Poznanović, Mladen Stilinović, Sven Stilinović, Lazar Stojanović, Raša Todosijević, Milica Tomić, Goran Trbuljak, Želimir Žilnik. Bands featured in the exhibition include VIS Idoli, Disciplina Kičme, Šarlo Akrobata, Oliver Mandić, Laboratorija Zvuka, Tožibabe, Laibach, Borghesia, Ekatarina Velika.

an effort to highlight the fluidity of media, and draw attention to the cross-disciplinarity of practices in Yugoslavia in 1970s and 1980s.

Despite the fact that my thesis is not a practice-based PhD, the experience of curating this exhibition proved to be invaluable in consolidating my ideas and testing them out at a crucial point of my research – in its final year. It was the experience of working on this exhibition, in fact, that was instrumental in determining the overarching tone of my thesis, helping me realise the key importance of precision of language in presenting work from other geographies, and the importance of embedding my research in discourses which connected postcolonial and feminist approaches with east European art historical narratives. The exhibition served as a point of consolidation, a case study to test the Western reception of the works and contexts I had been researching. As will be discussed below, its reception highlighted the need for a more profound and detailed work on challenging the totalitarian paradigm with which Yugoslav work has been read outside the region.

i. The Exhibition

‘Monuments Should Not Be Trusted’ brought together over one hundred of artworks from the ‘golden years’ of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, from the early 1960s to the mid 1980s. The exhibition showcased the diversity of ways in which artists navigated the incongruities of the Yugoslav ‘third way’, non-aligned, self-managed socialism. Via the eyes of its artists, the exhibition illuminated the key contradictions and particularities of this single party state, built on the legacy of the anti-fascist Partisan struggle and principles of solidarity, egalitarianism and self-management, yet simultaneously, a country immersed in what has been termed ‘utopian consumerism’, a term introduced by Branislav Dimitrijević, which will be discussed throughout this thesis.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Branislav Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam*. For a detailed analysis of utopian consumerism see: Part Four ‘UTOPIJSKI KONZUMERIZAM I NJEGOVE PROTIVREČNOSTI’ (Utopian Consumerism and its Contradictions), p 270.

Through four key themes, each problematising one particular aspect of the Yugoslav socio-political context, the exhibition aimed to provide a textured understanding of the incongruities of the Yugoslav society through a multiplicity of artistic voices, which emerged in the country at the time.

This period from the late 1960s in the country was marked by a turn to conceptual art (also termed ‘New Art Practice’) in particular dominant in the activities of artists operating around the newly opened Student Cultural Centres in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, alongside the proliferation of artists’ moving image ranging from structural film-making to the emergence of ‘Black Wave’ film, known for its outspoken critique of the Yugoslav system. Simultaneously, many artists dealt with a critique of consumerism in Yugoslav society, creating a range of cross-media works, strongly influenced by hippy culture and pop music as well as Pop Art.

The title of the exhibition, taken from an early work by the film-maker Dušan Makavejev, points to the multiplicity of ways in which histories can be read, introducing the complexity of the Yugoslav experience, which the exhibition presents.

Interwoven with artists’ works across collage, moving image, photography, sculpture and painting, was a selection of artifacts of Yugoslav socialism (such as gifts made by workers for President Tito’s birthdays, newsreel footage, and posters as well as ‘relay batons’, which were carried across the country and ceremoniously given to Tito).

ii. Reception of ‘Monuments Should Not Be Trusted’ and its Impact on the Thesis

The reception and feedback of ‘Monuments Should Not Be Trusted’ proved to be highly valuable in determining the course my research was to take in the concluding stages. Whilst previously I had been focusing on the detailed analysis of the Yugoslav material, giving preference to the Yugoslav context and scholarship, the experience of MSNBT was instrumental in enabling me to

see my research from more of an international, and specifically British perspective, highlighting the need for clarification of Yugoslav political situation and its specificity. For instance, the repeated references to Tito's 'communist dictatorship' in the marketing literature of the gallery, despite my continued efforts to highlight the nuances of Yugoslav political situation, helped me see the need for clarity in the contextualization of global practices in Western centres, highlighting the pitfalls inherent in any linguistic simplifications, and underlining even more the need for the work to be contextualized thoroughly. This led me in the direction of examining not only the artworks themselves, but also in giving more attention to a careful consideration their reception in today's cultural climate.

The mission of MSNBT lay in highlighting the complexities and in some cases incongruities of the Yugoslav situation, as a way of breaking away from the dichotomies that are often associated with the 'former East': the notion of an authoritarian state and a brutal dictator, ideas of official and unofficial art, the artist as dissident or the artist as the mouthpiece of the state, to mention but a few, yet this experience (along with my previous work at Calvert 22) highlighted just how much more needed to be done in this area.

6. How To Write about Seven Countries That Used to Be One?

Like personal memory, social memory is also highly selective, it highlights and foregrounds, imposes beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent. Equally it foreshortens, silences, disavows, forgets and elides many episodes which – from another perspective – –could be the start of a different narrative. This process of selective 'canonisation' confers authority and a material and institutional facticity on the selective tradition, making it extremely difficult to shift or revise. The institutions responsible for making the 'selective tradition' work develop a deep investment in their own truth.⁸¹

⁸¹ Stuart Hall, 'Heritage, Diversity and Human Rights', in Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013), p 142.

The historiography of socialist Yugoslavia, self-management and its effects on culture have, in the case of local art historians, in many cases been coloured by revisionism, given the country's demise in 1992 and subsequent nationalist agendas of the newly formed ex-Yugoslav states of Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Slovenia, Macedonia and most recently Kosovo. Often fuelled by anti-Yugoslav sentiments, the past twenty years have seen numerous publications presenting 20th Century art histories of individual ex-Yugoslav republics, in which the emphasis is shifted away from the shared narrative and ideological basis of the 'polycentric and decentralized, yet at the same time unified and shared'⁸² cultural space that was Yugoslavia, towards national micro-histories of visual cultures which, above all seek to foster cultural environments of successor nations.

Unsurprisingly, and logically, the need of the successor countries to construct art historical accounts that will be at the service of their individual nation-building apparatuses, has led to a tendency across the ex-Yugoslav countries, from the mid 1990s onwards, towards a reframing of art histories of individual ex-Yugoslav republics as separate cultural spaces. This tendency, fuelled by both state-funded and private commissioning of numerous volumes covering individual nations' art histories, has sought to populate the countries' historical narratives with new perspectives on the origins and lineages of their art. The 'polycentric and decentralized, yet at the same time unified and shared' cultural activities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are being rethought and re-presented in such volumes as independent, albeit related, narratives across the seven ex-Yugoslav countries. The problem of art histories determined by national borders located on shifting political terrains is not unique to the Yugoslav setting, nor is the Yugoslav period unique to the twentieth century as any histories addressing the entire 20th century would face such challenges as charting art movements also during the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and the first Yugoslavia too (1918-1943).

There have been numerous examples of such publications (in Serbian and Croatian respectively) which can be said to have actively shifted the emphasis

⁸² Djurić and Šuvaković, *Impossible Histories*, p.171.

away from the shared space and ideological basis of Yugoslav culture, towards individual histories of visual cultures on a national level. These include the recent three volume *Istorija Umetnosti u Srbiji XX Vek* (*History of Art in Serbia in the 20th Century*) edited by Miško Šuvaković (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2012); *Croatian Art: History and Monuments*, Vladimir P. Goss, Tonko Maroević, Petar Prelog, (Hrvatski institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb: I Skolska Knjiga, 2010); *IZMEĐU ISTOKA I ZAPADA–Hrvatska umjetnost i likovna kritika 50-ih godina* (*Between East and West – Croatian Art and Visual Art Criticism of 1950s*), Ljiljana Kolečnik (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2006) and the most recently published impressive three volume compendium by Suzana Marjanić entitled *Kronotop hrvatskoga performansa: od Travelera do danas* (*The Chronotopical Overview of Croatian Performance Art – from the Traveller to the Present*). (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku and Udruga Bijeli val, 2013).

In many cases, the authors' suppressed desire to contextualise the histories within a wider framework of Yugoslavia and beyond, becomes apparent within a few pages, such as for instance in Miško Šuvaković's introduction in the *History of Art in Serbia in the 20th Century* in which he states upfront that 'history of Serbian art' can in no way be constrained by national boundaries, and that instead the book will deal with: 'artistic and cultural practices which are not tied to geographic boundaries of Serbia as a state, but to the shifting cultural intersections of Serbian and other cultures, and in particular: relationships with Austro-Hungarian, Yugoslav, Croatian, Slovenian, Hungarian, Jewish, German, Slovak, Russian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Roma, Turkish and Albanian cultures.'⁸³ Similarly, Suzana Marjanić opts for only Croatian authors, even if it is within a wider Yugoslav space, as observed in a review by the curator Olga Majcen-Linn: 'Suzana Marjanić has solved this problem by including only Croatian authors and artworks created in the territory of Croatia.'⁸⁴

⁸³ Miško Šuvaković, *Istorija Umetnosti u Srbiji XX Vek; Drugi Tom* (*The History of Art in Serbia in the 20th Century, Volume Two*), (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2012), p. 33. Translation my own.

⁸⁴ Olga Majcen Linn, 'Review of *The Chronotopical Overview of Croatian Performance Art* by Suzana Marjanić', in *Theatralia - the Revue of Contemporary Thought on Theatre Culture*, Department of Theatre Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, 2014, vol 2.

i. Yugoslav Studies

The proliferation of such volumes produced locally, in the countries' own languages and offering national micro-narratives, has in recent years been counteracted by numerous pan-European projects with the ambition of fostering the field of study of what Denegri has characterised as the 'polycentric and decentralized, yet at the same time unified and shared' cultural space that was Yugoslavia. It is only in recent years, since 2009⁸⁵, almost two decades after the Yugoslav wars, that a historiography of Yugoslav cultural space has started to emerge from within the territory itself, often under the authorship of independent cultural organisations and curatorial initiatives in the region, frequently in receipt of international funds from NGOs such as Erste Stiftung⁸⁶, Rosa Luxembourg Stiftung as well as various successor organisations of the Soros Centres and EU funds.⁸⁷

The most fitting description that could be used to gather such initiatives is the umbrella of 'Yugoslav Studies', a term proposed by 'The Monument Group', which can be read as a form of a provocation seeking to challenge politically motivated historical revisionism, but also a method enabling deep research into the emancipatory foundations of Yugoslavia with a view to its application to

⁸⁵ The Open Society Foundation network, funded by the Soros Foundation across Yugoslavia, in the 1990s had an active publishing profile, with numerous publications including: Dejan Sretenovic, *Art in Yugoslavia 1992-1995*, (Beograd: Centar za savremenu umetnost, 1996).

⁸⁶ The Erste Foundation, based in Vienna, is the legal successor of the Erste oesterreichische Spar-Casse and owns a quarter stake in the Erste Group. The foundation supports projects across three strands in southeastern Europe across Social Development, Culture, and Europe.

⁸⁷ Created and funded by George Soros, the SCCA Network was part of the Soros foundations network, consisting of autonomous non-profit organizations, aiming to promote art, offering financial support to individual artists, art historians and art organizations, and making access easier to art to local, regional and international art scene. The SCCA network was established in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo in the 1990s. The Soros Foundation ceased to fund these centres in the 2000s with a view to them developing into cultural foundations in their own right including SCCA-Ljubljana, Centre for Contemporary Arts (a successor to the Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts – Ljubljana, 1993–1999), Institute of Contemporary art, Zagreb.

current and future political and cultural thinking.⁸⁸ As articulated by Damir Arsenijevic, theorist and member of The Monument Group: ‘Yugoslav Studies’ is a platform to re-think ‘Yugoslavia’ through the interaction of art, theory, education and politics. Rather than identifying ‘Yugoslavia’ as a nation-state that no longer exists, Yugoslav Studies examines its object as a project founded on a politics of emancipation with critical and unpredictable relevances for the global present and future.⁸⁹

Although the term Yugoslav Studies tends to be associated with the subsequent work of the members of The Monument Group specifically (such as the project ‘Four Faces of Omarska’)⁹⁰, here I am proposing its wider usage to incorporate a broader range of initiatives aimed at the study of the emancipatory potential that was held in the political and cultural realm during the period Yugoslavia existed.

Publishing and exhibition activities which have revisited different aspects of the Yugoslav cultural space have often been realised as collaborations across museums and organisations throughout the region often including the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade, Museum of Contemporary Art, Vojvodina in Novi Sad, MSU Zagreb, +MSUM | Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana. Instrumental in these initiatives have been independent cultural organisations across the region, such as the Zagreb-based collective What, How and for Whom, Belgrade’s Prelom Kolektiv, kuda.org from Novi Sad, pro.ba from Sarajevo, MaMA from Zagreb, to name but a few, which have systematically acted as initiators and enablers of pan-(ex)-Yugoslav initiatives. Some of the larger projects in the first category have included: the

⁸⁸ Grupa Spomenik/Monument Group (Damir Arsenijević, Ana Bezić, Jasmina Husanović, Pavle Levi, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović, Milica Tomić) gathered in 2002, was/is a gathering of artists and theoreticians who created a public space for political and critical discussion of the 1990s Balkan wars and their consequences. ‘The group began their international work in 2008 with the project ‘Mathemes of Re-association’. Examining the atrocities in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica in 1995, Grupa Spomenik’s work explores how art can create its own discourse on the ‘contemporary-permanent-war’. From the website of the Open Society Foundations: <<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/events/grupa-spomenikmonument-group-studije-jugoslavije>>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

⁸⁹ Description of a talk given by Damir Arsenijevic on Friday, November 4, 2011 at University of Michigan, <<https://lsa.umich.edu/complit/news-events/all-events/archived-events/2011/11/damir-arsenijevic-guest-speaker-yugoslav-studies.html>>, last accessed 19 February 2017

⁹⁰ The Four Faces of Omarska is an ongoing research project by members of The Monument Group. For further information see <<https://westernbalkans.forumzfd.org/en/activity/four-faces-omarska>>, last accessed 12 April 2017

multiannual project 'Political Practices of (post)Yugoslav Art' (2009, Museum of the History of Yugoslavia)⁹¹; 'Yugoslavia from Beginning to End' (2013, Museum of the History of Yugoslavia); 'Reflections of Time (Refleksije Vremena) 1945 – 1955': (2013, Klovicevi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb); and 'Socialism and Modernity: Art, Culture, and Politics 1950 – 1974' (2011, Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb). I would place my own project *Monuments Should Not Be Trusted* (2016, Nottingham Contemporary) in this category, although it took place outside the region.

These recent, but growing exhibitions and scholarship have gradually been gaining momentum on the international cultural landscape (given that they have been predominantly in English, distributed and marketed internationally in the visual arts channels as well across global academic and social media networks.)

Equally significant have been archival initiatives mostly organised at grassroots level, aimed at scanning and making available key works from across Yugoslav humanistic literature, which are increasingly difficult to access (due to their scarcity, especially abroad). One project in particular – the digitisation of the 'Archive of Humanistic Textual Production in Yugoslavia' within the Public Library initiative, has had an enormous significance on making available key volumes from the former Yugoslavia (including a complete archive of the *Praxis* journal)⁹².

In terms of publishing and collections, the collecting efforts of a few key museums and private collections have been instrumental for the region by systematically collecting art of the region of the former Yugoslavia (and in some cases, eastern and central Europe). These are the *Kontakt Collection* (Erste Bank, Vienna), *Arteast 2000+* (MG +MSUM, Ljubljana) and the *Sudac*

⁹¹ The project 'Medijske Prakse Omladinske Kulture U Sfrj, Političke Prakse (Post-)Jugoslovenske Umetnosti' was organised by four independent organisations: *Prelom kolektiv*(Beograd), *WHW kolektiv* (Zagreb), *kuda.org* (Novi Sad) and *CCA/pro.ba* (Sarajevo). For further information see: <http://www.kuda.org/sr/izlozba-politicke-prakse-post-jugoslovenske-umetnosti-retrospektiva-01>, last accessed 10 March 2017

⁹² Archive of Humanistic Textual Production in Yugoslavia, which is part of the Public Library initiative (<<http://www.memoryoftheworld.org/> Creator: Marcell Mars & Tomislav Medak>), can be found on: <https://www.memoryoftheworld.org/blog/2015/05/27/archive-of-humanistic-textual-production-in-yugoslavia/>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

Collection (Zagreb), all of which have also consistently been publishing catalogues, readers as well as English translations of existing texts in the former Yugoslav languages.

Here I have attempted to provide a short outline of the projects which have, across their diverse platforms (from exhibiting to digitising and making available out-of-print books) had a significant impact on maintaining the area that The Monument Group have named ‘Yugoslav Studies’, and which have, in turn served as my core sources.

7. Chapter 2 Illustrations



Figure 1.

Monuments Should Not Be Trusted Exhibition, Nottingham Contemporary, January – March 2016.

Installation view of the section 'Comradess Superwoman' showing works by Sanja Iveković, Katalin Ladik, Borghesia, Marko Pogačnik (vitrine).

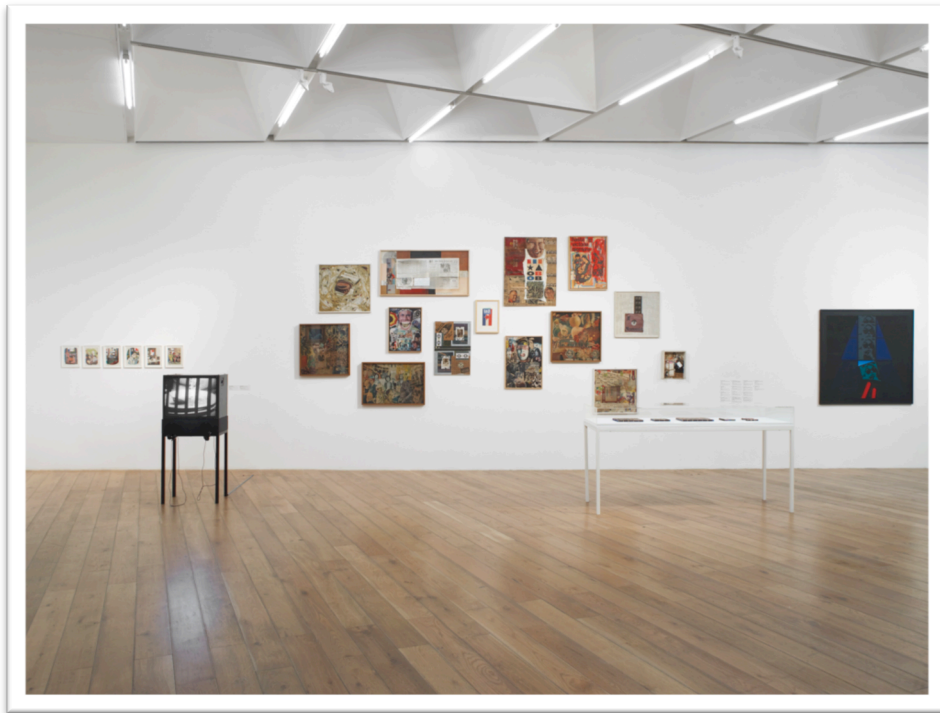


Figure 2.

Monuments Should Not Be Trusted Exhibition, Nottingham Contemporary, January – March 2016.

Installation view of the section 'Utopian Consumerism and Subcultures' showing works by Goran Djordjevic, Sanja Iveković (monitor), works grouped into the collage section: Tomislav Gotovac, Katalin Ladik, Avgust Černigoj, Vera Fischer, Slavko Matkovic, Lojze Logar; Slavko Matkovic (vitrine), Lojze Logar.



Figure 3.

Monuments Should Not Be Trusted Exhibition, Nottingham Contemporary, January – March 2016.

Installation view of the section 'Socialism and Class Difference' showing works by Mladen Stilinović, Lutz Becker (monitor), Marina Abramovic.



Figure 4.

Monuments Should Not Be Trusted Exhibition, Nottingham Contemporary, January – March 2016.

Still from the section 'Socialism and Class Difference' section showing works by Tomislav Gotovac, Dušan Otašević, Sanja Iveković and a selection of objects sent to Tito as gifts for his birthday.



Figure 5.

Monuments Should Not Be Trusted Exhibition, Nottingham Contemporary, January – March 2016.

Installation view of the section 'Utopian Consumerism and Subcultures' showing monitors with a selection of Super 8 films by the OHO Group.

Chapter 3–Having Versus Knowing

1. Introduction

The creation of Pop Art in socialist countries that had no free market economy and were one-party states with centrally-controlled media channels and artistic production has been dismissed by art historian Marco Livingstone as simply impossible⁹³. According to Livingstone, Pop could only 'flourish in a highly industrialized capitalist society'⁹⁴ and there was no possibility of the USSR, Eastern Europe or China producing its counterpart. But in Yugoslavia, with its burgeoning consumer culture underpinned by the (short-lived) success of self-managed economy, forms of Pop Art did emerge. Yugoslav Pop did not develop as a result of artists' immersion in consumer culture and a sense of being overwhelmed with material culture and its messages, in the way that it did in the West. Instead, I will go on to argue in this chapter, Yugoslav Pop emerged from a different position – one less rooted in personal experience of consumerism, and more in a detached and distanced observation of it.

Yugoslavia was a country saturated with up-to-date international information and cultural content, but not necessarily with consumer goods – a country in which *knowing* was more important than *having* in the shaping of its youth culture, and consequently Pop Art.

Yugoslav Pop emerged out of a set of contradictions inherent in the country's form of 'utopian consumerism' – a term coined by the art historian Branislav Dimitrijević.⁹⁵ Yugoslav hybrid and contradictory form of consumerism provided a markedly different environment from the countries of the Eastern Bloc or China on which Livingstone based his claim. Utopian consumerism, Branislav Dimitrijević explains, was a hybrid system which was shaped by an

⁹³ Marco Livingstone, *Pop Art: A Continuing History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), p. 195.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 195.

⁹⁵ Dimitrijević, Branislav, *Utopijski Konzumerizam : Nastanak I Protivrečnosti Potrošačke Kulture U Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1950-1970)* Doktorska Disertacija, (*Utopian Consumerism: The Emergence And The Contradictions Of The Consumer Culture In Socialist Yugoslavia (1950-1970)*) PhD, (Belgrade: University Of Arts In Belgrade, 2011)

'ideological and practical amalgamation of the promises of communist utopia (communist *dreamworld*) and the capitalist-consumerist promise, brought about by the gradual economic and political liberalisation of the 1950s and 1960s'.⁹⁶ Utopian consumerism according to Dimitrijević combined the 'production-based utopia' (characteristic of the Soviet Union and its 'satellites') and the 'consumption-based utopia' characteristic of the developed Western capitalism.⁹⁷ Dimitrijević goes on to explain that this amalgamation of the capitalist and communist 'dreamworlds' emerged out of the process of economic, but also political liberalisation. He claims that the Yugoslav 'transition' (from following Soviet-style socialism to embarking upon a different, West-facing, course in 1948⁹⁸) was governed by these two contradictory, but intertwined 'cultural logics' in which the collective vision of consumer bliss penetrated 'the vision of communist utopia'⁹⁹. The vision of the communist utopia was a legacy of the People's Liberation Struggle¹⁰⁰, with its promise of, to paraphrase the Yugoslav sociologist Rastko Močnik, eliminating the cultural sphere whose very existence embodied the 'barbarity of classes' – thus re-establishing culture as a sphere of human emancipation.¹⁰¹ The vision of consumer bliss was connected with Yugoslavia's fast growing economy (in the early 1960s Yugoslavia's GDP was 17% which was at the time the second

⁹⁶ Branislav Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam*, p. 17. (translation Lina Džuverović). Here Dimitrijević draws on Susan Buck-Morss' notion of a 'dreamworld', a poetic term used to describe a collective psychological state, or a collective vision of a utopian society. Buck-Morss draws parallels between the communist utopia and the capitalist one, demonstrating the effects of use of the collective 'vision' - the dreamworld – by both totalitarian governments, and corporate and state structures in the use of force and manipulation of populations. See Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe – The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 2000).

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 308–309 (translation Lina Džuverović).

⁹⁸ As a result of increasing discrepancies between Stalin and Tito's views, June 1948 saw the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) - (its full name was Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties). Cominform was an organization created by Stalin in 1947 and aimed at co-ordinating actions and exchanging information between the communist parties of Europe. This marked the end of Soviet dominance over the Yugoslavia. In the following years Yugoslavia begun to pursue a markedly different political course from the USSR and the Soviet Bloc, one based on internationalism, political neutrality and gradual building of diplomatic and economic relations with the West, leading up to becoming one of the founding members of the Non-aligned movement in Belgrade in 1961.

⁹⁹ Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam*, p. 309 (translation Lina Džuverović).

¹⁰⁰ People's Liberation Struggle (1941 – 1945) or Narodno-oslobodilacka Borba (NOB) is what is referred to as the fighting for the liberation of the Yugoslav peoples, from fascist forces during Second World War, starting in 1941. It was led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The NOB was at the same time a revolutionary struggle against the Yugoslav bourgeoisie who were opposed to the liberation movement and collaborated with the Allied Forces. These struggles combined towards the creation of the new socialist Yugoslavia in 1945.

¹⁰¹ Bojana Piškur quoting Rastko Močnik in 'The Non-Aligned Movement and Cultural Politics in the Former Yugoslavia' in 'Monuments Should Not Be Trusted' exhibition catalogue, Nottingham Contemporary, 2016, p. 177.

fastest growing economy the world, following Japan), the country could even be seen as an industrialised (but not capitalist) society that Livingstone terms as prerequisite for the emergence of Pop.¹⁰²

Livingstone's notion of the relationship between artistic practice and its social context is rooted in the idea of culture as local, based on the premise that art movements emerge in response to proximate events and circumstances. His view thus disregards (or at least underestimates) the enormous effects of global communication channels, media in all its forms as well as of literature, film, television, magazines, individual travel, tourism, touring exhibitions or pop music –on the developments of artistic movements. Livingstone's *local* idea of Pop is tied into the economies of consumption, not economies of knowledge. In other words, Livingstone did not take into account the globalising effects of modernity—the effect that Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari have termed *detrterritorialization*, a term denoting the fluidity and fragmentation of subjectivity in contemporary capitalism marked by its globalising nature.¹⁰³ While in other socialist countries, those behind the ‘Iron Curtain’, the effect of international information was less significant, due to its scarcity, in Yugoslavia, as this chapter will demonstrate, it was central to the development of artistic practice.

I will argue that Pop Art did indeed emerge in the Yugoslav environment, and that this was a ‘hybrid Pop’ combining the daily experience of life in socialism, including (often veiled) references the strong presence and visibility of the

¹⁰² The living standard in Yugoslavia was higher than in other communist/socialist countries. The growth of industry of Yugoslavia in 1950s was matched by a steady growth of employment (rising from 1846 000 employed in 1953 to 2392 000 employed in 1957). This rapid economic growth (in 1952 it was 100% and in 1956 162%) put Yugoslavia in the category of moderately developed countries by the mid 1950s. Source: ‘Usporedna vremenska lenta (Comparative Timeline)’, in *Socializam I Modernost, Umjetnost Kultura, Politika, 1950 – 1974*, (Zagreb: Muzej Suvremene Umjetnosti, 2012), p. 327.

¹⁰³ In *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), Deleuze and Guattari contrast the historical connectedness of material flows with local territory – the earth – or the body of the despot, with the what they term *detrterritorialization* in contemporary capitalism. Globalisation, they claim, connects detrterritorialised flows of labour and capital as a way of extracting surplus value, both in cultural and economic terms. They further argue that the effects of detrterritorialization – a rhizomatic, fluctuating set of meanings, that flow between entities (as opposed to clear set categories associated with territorialisation) – need to be analysed in cultural and spatial terms as well as political and economic ones.

ruling party, with a multitude of international influences brought in by international media and culture which became available in late 1940s and early 1950s. I propose that one of the key characteristics of Yugoslav Pop lay precisely in the artists' distance to consumerism, because much of it was experienced from afar, through the filter of media, or indeed in the form of locally adapted versions that I have called the phenomenon of 'making Yugoslav'. The contradictory environment that Dimitrijević has identified created a terrain in which Yugoslav artists' relationship to Western influences was ambivalent. Visible in much work dealing with consumerism is both a sense of yearning for goods and comfort of capitalist consumer promises, and a critical distance and reservations towards the decadent capitalist West.

In the case of Yugoslav artists, I will go on to argue, consumerism was treated as information received from afar, and less as daily, lived experience. What I call Yugoslav 'information-based Pop' more often found its references in quoting foreign content, and foreign references adapted by Yugoslav media, than addressing the daily experience of Yugoslav home-grown popular culture.

Following an analysis of cultural influences that shaped Yugoslav Pop, I will end this chapter by returning to a question raised in introductory chapter, to do with the recognition of 'discrete otherness'¹⁰⁴ of Pop manifestations across different geographies. I will conclude by pointing to the particularities of the Yugoslav situation, and introducing two sub-categories of Yugoslav Pop: Mainstream and Countercultural Pop.

2. Pop and Consumerism in Yugoslavia –Having Versus Knowing

Yugoslav teenagers did not necessarily need to *own* a pair of All Star trainers, the latest Rolling Stones album, or to see one of the artworks in Warhol's 'Car Crash' series in the flesh, to understand and relate to their messages and appreciate their cultural significance. The knowledge of their existence, even if experienced in a 'secondary' form (through reading about them, or listening to records, rather than owning them or experiencing music live) was enough for

¹⁰⁴ A term used by art historian David Fehrer in his essay 'The 'Pop Problem' – Pop Art and East Central Europe', in Timar Katalin (Ed) *Ludwig Goes Pop + The East Side Story*; p. 121.

Yugoslavs to develop an intellectual affiliation, a critical position, to become active participants and feel part of global cultural developments, one of them being Pop Art.

Yugoslav consumer culture developed in incongruous ways, with some international commodities being easy to get hold of and others being well-known but not accessible. When it came to culture, the country's reorientation towards the West meant that relatively abruptly the importing policy changed, in the late 1940s, with a decline in Soviet culture, giving way to Western films, exhibitions, music and other artforms. While Soviet films dominated Yugoslav cinemas in the 1940s, by the mid-1950s the repertoire mostly consisted of American, French, British and other films from large Western studios. Social historian Radina Vučetić has observed that between 1952 and 1956 '325 films were imported from USA, 101 from the UK, 99 from France, 62 from Italy, and only 33 from USSR'.¹⁰⁵

Many popular items, brands as well as images (foreign pop and film stars, fashion trends, Western everyday objects) became part of the vernacular to such an extent that their absence from the Yugoslav marketplace almost felt of secondary importance (for instance the aforementioned All Star trainers or 'Starke' in Serbo-Croat). Many consumer items and pleasures (for instance the American diner, or the car-wash) were experienced vicariously, as ideas, not real-life situations, through adverts, films and tabloids. They were absorbed into Yugoslav ideas of contemporary life, familiar, but never experienced in the flesh. Western consumer goods, in particular those associated with youth culture (jeans, trainers, LPs, chewing gum etc), due to their scarcity, in fact acquired different meanings and bigger significance than they had in the West, and in some cases they enjoyed almost a mythical status. In their discussion of the 'pleasures in socialism', David Crowley and Susan E. Reid observed that 'objects that were mundane in their original, capitalist context came to carry heightened significance not only because of their rarity: the unfamiliar

¹⁰⁵ Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola Socijalizam : Amerikanizacija Jugoslovenske Popularne Kulture Sezdesetih Godina XX Veka* (Beograd: JP Sluzbeni glasnik, 2012), p. 51. Vučetić quotes T. Jakovina, o.c. p. 89.

materials and seductive forms of Western consumer goods could trigger fantasies about capitalist civilisation'.¹⁰⁶

In her study of Americanisation of Yugoslavia, social historian Radina Vučetić refers to her own 'embedded Americanness' growing up in the 1960s—a child brought up following the liberal, individual-centred child-rearing advice of Dr Spock, craving Coca Cola, playing with Barbie dolls and fetishizing All Star trainers.¹⁰⁷ These unavailable, or difficult to obtain, goods, were firmly embedded as cultural signifiers in the consciousness of the Yugoslav teenager. As described by the rock musician Vladimir Janokovic Jet, this liberalization and sense of internationalism was visible on the streets and the atmosphere in the capital Belgrade in 1964: 'Going abroad and returning were no longer abstract ideas, and foreign-made products began to shower the capital. Jeans, t-shirts, and the latest jackets became a common feature and the streets began to look quite differently.'¹⁰⁸ The gap between knowing and having may have been lessened for a handful of Belgraders, but for the majority of the Yugoslav population ideas trickling in through Western media remained just that – *ideas* of consumer goods and ways of life elsewhere. Western goods and images achieved an iconic status regardless of their physical unavailability to most people.

Similarly, when it came to culture, scarcity produced cultural capital. Branislav Dimitrijević has pointed to the way in which information about new American or British musical trends or performers usually preceded the acquisition of the music itself.¹⁰⁹ Getting hold of the actual record would usually be a complex

¹⁰⁶ David Crowley and Susan Reid (Eds) *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, (Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010), p. 20. (Crowley and Reid discuss pleasure in the Soviet Bloc countries in the book, but in some cases their observations apply to Yugoslavia too).

¹⁰⁷ Vučetić, *Koka-kola Socijalizam*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Breda Luthar, and Maruša Pušnik, (Eds), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, (Washington DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010). Vladimir Jankovic Jet as quoted by Radina Vučetić in her text 'Dzuboks (Jukebox) – The First Rock'n'roll Magazine in Socialist Yugoslavia', p. 145 – 164, p. 147.

¹⁰⁹ Young Yugoslavs came across most of the international music by listening to Radio Luxembourg, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Television began broadcasting in 1956 - on 7 September 1956 the television transmitter on the hill of Sljeme, above Zagreb, began its broadcast of 'Zagreb Television'. The programme transmitted was a live broadcast from the opening of the Zagreb Trade Fair. Television broadcast numerous music and cultural programmes supplying information about Western music and culture. Music was most influential in the formation of youth culture and as

process, which further mystified it, adding to its desirability. This process had the potential to give the music almost an elite status as it was only accessible to certain people (urban middle class youth with connections abroad or possibility of frequent travel), leading to what was to become a crucial distinction between 'folk' and 'pop' music, which persists to this day (a longer discussion of these terms are considered in depth in chapter 6).

Film, and in particular American film, proved to be one of the most popular artforms for Yugoslav audiences, before television became available to ordinary citizens (In Yugoslavia TV was still just an emerging 'communal experience' as late as 1958. In August of that year 80 TV sets were placed in shop fronts across Belgrade's most populated areas to provide a collective viewing opportunity).¹¹⁰ The mass appeal of foreign film was evident. The monumental success of the American film *Bathing Beauty* in Belgrade in 1951, for instance, testified to the enthusiasm of Yugoslav audiences for such new and glamorous content. The film was seen by 333 000 viewers in a city of 426 000 (which amounts to 80% of the population).¹¹¹ As articulated by Gerald M. Mayer, Director of the International Division of the Motion Picture of America in 1947, 'scenes laid in American kitchens, for example, have probably done as much to acquaint people of foreign lands with American electric refrigerators, electric washing machines, eggbeaters, window screens, and so on, than any other medium'.¹¹² A significant presence of American consumer culture was felt when in 1957 at the Zagreb Autumn Trade Fair the American pavilion installed a supermarket with fully functioning washing machines, toasters, irons and televisions.

Yugoslav internationalism grew, Western pop music became increasingly present with a number of British bands performing live (such as The Searchers and The Hollies who performed at the 1968 'Split Music Festival'). The Beatles and the Rolling Stones were a major influence in Yugoslavia (The Rolling Stones played in Zagreb in June 1976), Yugoslav pop musicians, albeit mostly the ones singing 'shlager' ('shlager' is best translated as hits or popular songs) songs, began to tour internationally, especially to Italy and Austria. These influences led to numerous developments on the local scene, which branched into a number of pop and rock approaches (mods, 'elektrikari' – playing amplified music, garage or '1960s Punk' and later 'akustikari' – playing acoustic music, influenced by Bob Dylan and Joan Baez).

¹¹⁰ For more information on TV in Serbia see Miško Šuvaković: *Modernizam u Uslovima Socijalistickog Trzista, Vizuelna Kultura Realnog, Samoupravnog I Trzsnog Socijalistickog Drustva*, p 832.

¹¹¹ Radina Vučetić, *Koka Kola Socijalizam*.

¹¹² Tony Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 33.

Tito's government regarded film as the medium which is 'most popular and most appealing to masses of all the arts' which, for this very reason, was seen as carrying the biggest responsibility as a 'means for dissemination of culture, development of correct world views, and nurturing of taste and love for the right values in life'.¹¹³ The government's awareness of the potential held by film was also the reason why, years later, in the 1970s it was Yugoslav critical film-making known as 'Black Wave' that received the highest level of scrutiny and censorship, when compared to other artforms, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

3. On The Circuit–Touring Exhibitions

Yugoslavia became a fertile ground for international touring exhibitions of art from the US, UK, Italy, France, the Netherlands and other international art centres. These exchanges were not just financially supported, but heavily promoted and mediated by cultural and political institutions as ways of demonstrating Yugoslavia's new Western-facing political alliances, in sharp contrast to the dominance of socialist realism across the Soviet bloc. In turn, numerous presentations of Yugoslav artists internationally were enthusiastically supported by government agencies, with great importance being given to Yugoslavia's representation at the Venice Biennale. Audiences in the country's largest cities of Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and in some cases Skopje, had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with a variety of artistic movements and styles throughout the 1950s and 1960s,¹¹⁴ ranging from De Stijl (1953) to Henry Moore's sculptures (1955) and Pop Art (1966). Most significant to the development of socialist modernism, which was to become Yugoslav 'official culture'¹¹⁵ (discussed at length in Chapter 4) in this period, was the work of American abstract expressionists, as abstraction was

¹¹³ Vučetić, p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Touring exhibitions included the 1952 'Contemporary French Art' shown in Belgrade Zagreb, Ljubljana and Skopje; 'A Selection of Dutch Paintings in Belgrade, Zagreb and Skopje (featuring De Stijl)', in 1953, a solo exhibition of the work of Henry Moore in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana in 1955 (which included a catalogue foreword by Herbert Read) which also subsequently toured to Warsaw.

¹¹⁵ By 'official culture' here I mean culture that was chosen to be representative of Yugoslavia, cultural outputs that were endorsed and financially supported by the relevant agencies.

the direction that Yugoslav was adopted as the dominant (but not official) artistic Yugoslav expression.

Amongst the most significant shows was the touring exhibition 'Modern Art in the U.S.A.' in Belgrade 1956 from the collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York, which amongst others featured, eight abstract expressionists including Robert Rauschenberg, Edward Hopper, Mark Rothko, Clyfford Still, Robert Motherwell and Jackson Pollock. Belgrade was the only venue for this exhibition within a socialist country, (the exhibition toured to eight venues across Europe) and prior to Belgrade the exhibition was shown at major venues including the Tate Gallery in London, Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris, Kunsthalle Zurich and Secession in Vienna. From the point of view of Yugoslav authorities, Yugoslavia's inclusion in the highly strategic touring schedule of Abstract Expressionist works around the world ensured the country's visibility on the international art landscape.

The cultural exchange with the USA continued with significant exhibitions including 'Graphic Arts USA' (1963) organised by the United States Information Agency (USIA) which toured the Soviet Union and other countries including Yugoslavia and Romania in 1964 - 65.¹¹⁶ Interestingly, this touring exhibition also included a practical element in the form of a functioning printmaking studio, therefore adding a 'hands-on' instructional aspect. Printmaker John Ross, who was at the time employed by USIA as the chief graphic artist in Romanian and Yugoslav legs of the exhibition, described his role as 'working on my prints in a workshop set up in the exhibition, giving

¹¹⁶ Established by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, The United States Information Agency (USIA) existed from 1953 to 1999 as an agency devoted to 'public diplomacy'. Its mission was 'to understand, inform and influence foreign publics in promotion of the national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and U.S. institutions, and their counterparts abroad'. It was established 'to streamline the U.S. government's overseas information programs, and make them more effective'. USIA was the largest full-service public relations organization in the world, spending over \$2 billion per year to highlight America's view, while diminishing the Soviet's side through about 150 different countries. Source: <<http://modernism101.com/products-page/graphic-design/graphic-arts-usa-tom-geismar-logo-designer-united-states-information-agency-new-york-1963/#.VwZzvXMrLUp>>, last accessed 6 May 2016.

demonstrations, lectures, and visiting Academies, schools, museums, galleries, and studios in many cities throughout Romania and Yugoslavia'.¹¹⁷

In terms of Pop Art perhaps most significant of all was the exhibition 'Pop Art' which took place at Zagreb's Gallery of Contemporary Art (today MSU – Museum of Contemporary Art, at a different site), in association with Belgrade's Museum of Contemporary Art in 1966. The exhibition was sponsored by the cigarette manufacturer Philip Morris International, and featured thirty-three works—predominantly screen prints and a few lithographs by artists including Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Jim Dine, Allen Jones, James Rosenquist and others.¹¹⁸ This was a display of archetypal Pop works, featuring an all male line up of artists (as tended to be the case with Pop Art exhibitions in the 1960s), engaged in exploration of key Pop tropes. The exhibition was dominated by images of pin-ups, consumer products (especially cars and cigarettes), domestic scenes featuring kitchens and TV screens. On display were Roy Lichtenstein's comic book-inspired screen prints, Mel Ramos' images of pin-ups and consumer products, three prints by Tom Wesselmann featuring nude women and kitchen scenes. The exhibition also included seminal pieces such as three prints from Andy Warhol's 'Jackie' series of images of Jacqueline Kennedy.

4. From Socialist Visual Culture to Self-managed Market Culture

In this climate of regular and varied international cultural inputs – film, exhibitions, television, well as music, new conceptions of popular culture and entertainment were introduced. For the Serbian art historian Miško Šuvaković the gradual commercialisation of Yugoslav society was evident in the shifting discourse around visual culture in the late 1950s – a shift that certainly had an effect on how Yugoslav artists perceived the context of their work. Šuvaković points to a shift from 'socialist visual culture' to 'socialist self-managed market culture', a gradual adaptation to Yugoslavia's developing economic system and

¹¹⁷ John Ross, Printmaker CV, <<http://www.johnrossprintmaker.com/publications.html>>; last accessed on 7 April 2016.

¹¹⁸ Full list of artists in 'Pop Art': Allan D'Arcangelo, Jim Dine, Allen Jones, Gerald Laing, Roy Lichtenstein, Peter Phillips, Mel Ramos, James Rosenquist, Andy Warhol, John Welsley, Tom Wesselman; the catalogue is available at: <<http://www.msu.hr/#/hr/14965/>>, last accessed 7 April 2016.

entry into Western markets.¹¹⁹ Like Dimitrijević, Šuvaković observed a certain ambivalence in the language and communication around Yugoslav consumer products, in the advertisers' and marketers' efforts to simultaneously cater to both the socialist political propaganda (focussing on efficiency and cost-cutting) and market promotion, communicating what were beginning to be the brand identities of Yugoslav products.¹²⁰ An example of this production-centered approach combined with a strong sense of a brand building can be seen in the marketing of the popular Zastava 750 car (colloquially known as Fića) launched in 1955 (Figure 1). Zastava was a pioneering car manufacturer located in the Serbian town of Kragujevac, which would go on to export over the years 650,000 vehicles to 76 countries across the world, including the export of its well-known Jugo (Yugo) car to the USA in 1981. (Today the factory is owned by Fiat).

The discourse around consumer culture, according to Šuvaković, was rearticulated from thinking about what he termed the 'socialist object'¹²¹ to conceiving of a 'marketable object', marking a shift in the approach to both consumption and production, and broadly affecting the overall articulation of Yugoslav everyday life.

The re-articulation of language used around Yugoslav consumer culture also affected ways of thinking about leisure and free time– including cultural experiences. Shortly after the Second World War, free time, in particular for young people, was centred on the Communist Party-organised, production-led collective initiatives aimed at rebuilding the country. These included residential voluntary labour camps named 'Youth Labour Actions' (Omladinske Radne Akcije or ORA) which also incorporated a host of social activities in the evenings. But by the 1950s, myriad new Western influences and ideas were circulating throughout the country through tabloid magazines, a boom in Western films and by mid 1960s also the 'Economic Propaganda Programme'

¹¹⁹ Miško Šuvaković, *Istorija Umetnosti U Srbiji XX Vek, Drugi Tom, realizmi I modernizmi Oko Hladnog Rata*, (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2012), p. 832.

¹²⁰ A range of consumer industries - fashion, the car industry, hygiene products - all saw rapid development and internationalisation in the early 1960s. For a detailed discussion of changes in different industries see Ibid, p. 832.

¹²¹ Ibid, p 832.

(EPP) on television.¹²² The post-war enthusiasm organised around / channelled by ORAs was rapidly being replaced by a variety of options for leisure time, and varied cultural choices, which went hand in hand with new, modern households filled with the newest appliances, guided by design as much as functionality. The notion of lifestyle was not only present in the Yugoslav imaginary when it came to the selection of consumer goods, but also in cultural choices. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who, in the context of his theory on taste and class distinctions, identified four forms of capital— economic, cultural, social and symbolic— claimed that it was cultural capital (education, cultural appreciation, leisure pursuits) above others, which forms the basis upon which individuals distinguish themselves from other people.¹²³ Whilst Bourdieu developed his theory in the capitalist context, in relation to class, Yugoslavia with its burgeoning consumerism was equally a fertile ground for differentiation and social stratification, despite its theoretical claims of striving towards a classless society (as the aforementioned case of cultural and symbolic capital associated with imported vinyl records demonstrates).

A 1956 survey by the magazine *Student*, as observed by Branislav Dimitrijević, revealed that cinemas ranked as the top free time destination for the student population, followed by bars, theatre and football matches.¹²⁴ A combination of access and information about foreign consumer products as seen in adverts, magazines and films, but not always necessarily available or accessible (or, for that matter, affordable), and domestically-produced goods, created a sense of choice. Yugoslav citizens were now exposed to a consumer culture, much more moderate than its Western counterparts perhaps, but it certainly existed, and was growing.

¹²² *Ekonomsko propagandni program* (Economic Propaganda Programme) was the Serbo-Croat term for television adverts (another term is 'reklama') which appeared between television programmes in clusters of around five adverts at a time. EPP was state sponsored and predominantly featured domestic products although sometimes foreign ones would appear too. The adverts featured products manufactured by some of Yugoslavia's largest producers of consumer goods, and those aimed at export (for instance the company Yugoexport which was a firm established in 1953 in Belgrade which both imported foreign goods and exported Yugoslav ones).

¹²³ Bourdieu's four forms of capital were introduced in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

¹²⁴ Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam*, p. 173, referring to a survey by the magazine *Student* in 1956, 'Zabavljamo se ali...' ('We are having fun, but...') *Student*, 10.12.1956, (translation Lina Džuverović).

5. Making It Yugoslav

The ways in which Western pop culture was contextualised and directly juxtaposed with domestic popular imagery, had an impact on its reception. For instance, foreign films were often ‘wrapped’ in Yugoslav imagery by being screened in cinemas following ‘Filmske Novosti’ (‘Film Newsreel’), short news bulletins showcasing the latest social, political, economic, sports and cultural news,¹²⁵ usually focused on Tito’s (and later other dignitaries’) activities and diplomatic missions. These short propaganda films ranged from reports of Tito’s state visit to the UK, Tito entertaining Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor in his summer residence on the island of Brijuni in 1972, Tito’s monumental welcome in North Korea in 1977, Tito welcoming Fidel Castro in Yugoslavia, footage of the first meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade in 1961 (Figure 2 – Filmske Novosti stills) etc. These images formed the officially produced (government-funded) Yugoslav pop culture, which although predominantly aimed at informing the public of Yugoslav political and economic successes worldwide, did not underestimate the power of glamour and cinematic seduction either. Filmed in most cases by Dragan Mitrović and Stevan Labudović, two renowned documentary filmmakers who travelled with Tito, but when necessary also lent their services to documenting events in many newly liberated Non-Aligned countries within Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the film bulletins presented beautifully shot accounts testifying to Yugoslavia’s international importance and connections.

Audiences would leave the cinema with a combined impression of domestic glamour purporting to represent reality (it indeed was documentary footage, even if heavily biased), with American (or indeed British or French) fictions. Even if the two stood in ideological opposition (Yugoslavia’s political work in helping decolonisation processes versus the glamour and decadence of Hollywood movies), *Filmske Novosti* with its upbeat tone and propaganda of Yugoslav success, acted as a way of bringing the glamour home, and lessening

¹²⁵ *Filmske Novosti* (initially called ‘Zvezda Film’ [Star Film]) was founded on 20 October 1944, the day Belgrade was liberated. It was to be the film section of the supreme headquarters of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, as a state-owned enterprise producing documentaries and reportage.

the ‘us’ and ‘them’ effect. The juxtaposition communicated the message that Yugoslavia had both– the political integrity of the NAM commanding global respect as well as little bit of Western-style glamour.

These combined narratives created through an exposure to international popular images alongside Yugoslavia’s own, soon began to emerge in artistic practice. Yugoslav artists who began to experiment with Pop often produced works juxtaposing domestic and foreign imagery, combining the two contexts, representative of Yugoslavia’s multifaceted and sometimes contradictory reality, without explicitly dealing with local issues. For instance, in a collage by the Slovenian artist August Černigoj’s entitled ‘Človek in Čes’ (Man and Time) (1972), (Figure 3), the artist’s choice to use the image of the actor Richard Burton from a magazine is significant. At the time, Burton was spending much time in Yugoslavia, playing the role of Tito in *The Battle of Sutjeska* (1973),¹²⁶ which was one of Yugoslavia’s most ambitious film productions to date. Černigoj’s use of Burton in this work points to the ubiquity of the actor’s image in Yugoslav media, doubling up as a reference to Tito (the two were frequently portrayed together in tabloids at the time) (Figure 4), without directly depicting the leader. In the collage Burton is given two sets of eyes, which, given the timing of the collage, reads as a signpost to Tito, suggesting a dual perspective experienced by the actor himself, and the identification with the character he was playing. Černigoj, whose other collages of this period were explicitly critical of America’s aggressive foreign policy, critically commenting specifically on the period of *vietnamisation*, the bombing of Cambodia, and the Watergate scandal, was here alluding to the Yugoslav leaders’ close relations with American film stars. The background of the image is filled with fragments of consumer imagery including a tyre and a wristwatch showing, instead of time, an image of a woman’s back and two hands running down it. The only text in the work spells the word ‘addesso’ (‘now’ in Italian) pointing to Černigoj’s immersion in the present moment, his

¹²⁶ Burton played Tito in *The Battle of Sutjeska* (1973) one of the best known ‘partisan Westerns’ - a term used to describe feature films, mostly portraying partisan liberation of Yugoslavia during World War Two, produced by Avala Film, a state-owned Belgrade-based film studio and production company formed in July 1946.

interest in the news, technological advances and his engagement with popular culture and media.

In the 1960s and early 1970s many artists showed an enthusiasm for new materials and techniques, from screen printing, the use of magazine collage and Letraset, to (from the mid-1970s onwards) experiments with video technology. As early as 1962 the Zagreb-based artist Tomislav Gotovac photographed himself leafing through a copy of *Elle* magazine, borrowed from a friend, creating the photographic series entitled 'Showing Elle'. Displaying a sense of elated joy at having access to such a glossy material, Gotovac almost timidly dips into the imagery of glamour and glossy pictures of women, in what was still an early stage of liberalisation of Yugoslav society (this work will be analysed in depth in Chapter 6). This was the beginning of Gotovac's immersion in all kinds of everyday materials. By the late 1960s Gotovac fully embraced all aspects of consumer culture, with the incorporation of Yugoslav domestic products and packaging that he used every day, or foreign ones. Gotovac went on to include food packaging, record sleeves, magazine adverts, postcards, found objects, in the form of collages, and later, even performances dressed as Superman.

For many artists working with the moving image setting their work to Western soundtracks was a way of expressing their alliance with countercultural ideas. The Slovenia-based group OHO set numerous Super 8 videos in the mid-1960s to Rolling Stones tracks, in many cases depicting everyday scenes of Yugoslav life, creating hybrid visions combining socialist everyday life set to a British pop band. In the Super 8 film *Nineteenth Nervous Breakdown* (*Devetnajsti Živčni Zlom*) (1966) authored by the OHO member Naško Križnar, the eponymous song sets the tone as we watch black and white images of various OHO members appearing in front of graffiti on the streets of Ljubljana, creating a sense of the artists' countercultural affiliations. Similarly, the film *The Eve of Destruction* made in the same year documents Marko Pogačnik's daily initiative of writing graffiti slogans against the Vietnam War in a Ljubljana underpass (Figure 5).

Music was also key to the Vojvodina-based member of the artists' collective Bosch & Bosch, Slavko Matković, who produced a series of collages in 1971 using images of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones and Letraset. The works, consisting of images of the bands with Letraset applied on top were entitled *My Name is Beatle* (1971), *Rolling Stones Live Here* (also translated as *Rolling Stones Are Living on My Street*) (1971), (Figure 6), and *Help* (1971). Letraset and the Beatles and the Rolling Stones were all recent and exciting novelties in Yugoslav popular culture in 1971, and in this series Matković, who later went on to work with comic books, expressed his enthusiasm for both new materials and musical influences. His titles, in particular *Rolling Stones Are Living on My Street*, speak of Matković's intimate experience of the music as part of his daily life.

Other ways in which Western popular culture was 'made Yugoslav' were linguistic. The simple act of reworking of English language names into their versions into Yugoslav languages, in itself had the effect of bringing the content closer to home. 'Ričard Barton' and 'Elizabet Tejlor' somehow felt more Yugoslav than Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor. The fact that they could also be seen socialising with the Yugoslav leader only added to their 'real life' qualities and a perceived closeness to ordinary Yugoslavs. Stories of Hollywood film stars filled Yugoslav tabloids alongside a host of newcomers who were their domestic equivalents.

In her 1974 photomontage work *Tragedy of a Venus*, (discussed in-depth in Chapter 7), Iveković brings the Hollywood star-making system into comparison with the expectations placed on the artist herself as a woman in Yugoslav society. Although the work predominantly operates on the level of the image, Iveković's decision to keep the Croatian language tabloid captions adds another dimension. The meaningless tabloid expressions (for instance 'Sex appeal as her main weapon, much can be achieved with make up', or 'Pleasant and unpleasant encounters on the phone: constantly anticipating something') collapse any difference between media manipulation in Western tabloids and the home-grown versions.

For Yugoslav Pop artists, the juxtaposition of foreign and domestic material was a way of both interrogating their own position vis-à-vis Western influences, and lessening the gap between their own environment and the West. In much of Yugoslav Pop the immersion in Western popular culture was a way of bringing the whole world into the Yugoslav orbit, aligning local and global preoccupations and placing local issues in a global context, making their own environment feel relevant and current. But for all the enthusiasm around Yugoslavia's new internationalism and cultural links, Yugoslav Pop work often simultaneously took a critical tone on aspects of Yugoslav move towards consumerism. In particular after the protests of 1968 (as will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 in relation to Yugoslav Countercultural Pop), this was a tone aligned with the global countercultural movement, itself highly critical of Western capitalist consumer culture and America's aggressive foreign policy.

6. Consumerism and The 'Yugoslav Dream'

In this chapter I have discussed the onset of consumerism and the internationalisation of Yugoslav society, focussing less on artistic developments in Yugoslav art in the context of its own art history. The focus of the next chapter will be on socialist modernism, as equally important to the onset of Pop Art in the country. As chapters to follow will show, Yugoslav utopian consumerism was the result of a complex socio-political situation, and artistic practices in the field of Pop Art can only fully be understood in relation to country's ideological underpinnings (not just consumerism in isolation). These ideological underpinnings were embedded in the system of self-management, the legacy and goals of the People's Liberation Struggle and the importance of internationalism and non-alignment.

Some scholars have placed consumerism at the very centre of the success of the Yugoslav project, attributing varying levels of importance to the collective vision of a prosperous modern life or the 'Yugoslav Dream'— a term introduced

by the historian Patrick Patterson.¹²⁷ Patterson claims that in the case of Yugoslavia it was impossible to separate the socialist from the consumerist, arguing that it was precisely consumer aspirations that held together the Yugoslav multi-ethnic and multi-religious society through a shared dream of a prosperous life. The fact that a good standard of living and a certain amount of disposable income were available to enough people (not just the governing elite) to sustain the shared vision of the ‘Yugoslav Dream’ is at the heart of Patterson’s proposition. He claims that the dream of a plentiful future, filled with modern homes and brand new appliances, summer houses on the Yugoslav coast and frequent international travel, was sufficient to suppress religious and ethnic differences amongst Yugoslav peoples. According to Patterson, it was when the economy began to decline, in the face of unprecedented inflation (in the late 1970s, early 1980s) that the Yugoslav Dream began to seem unattainable, making the previously experienced cohesion no longer possible.

But Patterson's claim that Yugoslavia was chiefly ‘held together’ by a shared vision of material bliss, in my view, places too much emphasis on the lure of lifestyle and commodities, without acknowledging that the sustained vision of the ‘Yugoslav Dream’ was as tied to the emancipatory potential held in the system of self-management, promising ordinary citizens a sense of ownership of the means of production (which will be discussed in the next chapter), as it was to the material benefits that such a system had the potential to provide. It was not only promise of ‘the Good Life’ as Patterson refers to it, but the *way* in which such a life would come into being and be sustained, that kept the vision of Yugoslavia together.

It was precisely the combination of the progressive socialist ideology, with an effective international policy and the promise of economic stability (and consumerism within that) that accounted for Yugoslav people’s belief in its government’s promises. The cultural climate in Yugoslavia was strongly influenced by the notion of internationalism, intrinsic to the country’s foreign

¹²⁷ Patterson defines the Yugoslav Dream as ‘an embrace of the pleasures and virtues of material abundance that sought at once to mirror and rival the American Dream of postwar prosperity’. Patrick Hyder Patterson, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, (Cornell NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. xvi.

policy, and its active role in the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).¹²⁸ In parallel with its cultural connections of the Western, capitalist countries, Yugoslavia actively pursued cultural and educational exchanges with countries in Africa and Asia through the Non-Aligned Movement.

Yugoslavia's active role in NAM not only supported non-alignment and decolonisation processes in a political sense, but provided expertise, education and support to fellow nations within the movement, hosting numerous students from non-aligned countries and sending experts in the fields of urbanism, architecture, and film to help develop urban centres and local film production. While the Non-Aligned Movement may not have been the most significant cultural influence, initiatives such as the opening of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade in 1977 showed Yugoslav commitment to cultural exchange with African countries.¹²⁹

The Yugoslav self-management system was successful in engendering a sense of personal agency and control over one's life, not only in the sense of economic well-being, but as a political project with a future. Consumer bliss was the reward, not a goal in itself. Patterson's claim, in other words, underestimates the extent to which the ideological promise of the emancipatory potential of self-management with its practical economic applications engendered a sense of optimism in the Yugoslav citizen.

So what were the key characteristics of the Yugoslav environment that are necessary for an understanding of the 'discrete otherness' of Yugoslav Pop?

Yugoslav Pop reflected the environment of utopian consumerism characterised by a conflicting value system, which combined the 'production-based' utopia of Yugoslavia's founding years, with fast-growing consumerism and international communication and trade, as has been suggested by Branislav

¹²⁸ NAM, or the Non-aligned Movement, was formed in 1961 and following the first preparatory meeting held in Cairo in June of that year, the first official NAM Summit took place in Belgrade in September.

¹²⁹ The Museum of African Art in Belgrade was founded by Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar and opened in 1977. Dr. Zdravko Pečar spent 20 years in West Africa as a journalist and diplomat, with seven postings as Ambassador. Museum website: <<http://www.museumofafricanart.org/>>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

Dimitrijević. In this chapter I have proposed that this moderate form of utopian consumerism, has laid the ground for the emergence of Pop based on information, with artworks often quoting foreign sources, as opposed to focussing on the local lived experiences. The work relied more on a second-hand experience of consumerism, than a domestic one, and in most cases avoided directly tackling any issues explicitly addressing Yugoslavia's socialist system and the governing bodies (reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter 6). As a result, those artists that embraced popular culture and materials engaged with them as imported goods – with a distance, and as material that was primarily known in the form of information, not lived experience. In Yugoslavia, immersed in global information exchange, but experiencing a more modes form of a market, knowing was more important than having. Foreign material and themes were often 'made Yugoslav' through both linguistic adaptations and by artists' juxtapositions of content from abroad and Yugoslav local narratives and images. Some Yugoslav artists embraced Pop materials and aesthetics with enthusiasm and a desire to be more like the West. But in many cases, especially after the student protests of 1968, these juxtapositions revealed a critical stance towards the commercialisation of Yugoslav society, and an alignment with global countercultures, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In the next chapter I will go on to propose a distinction that maps out these two opposing ways in which Yugoslav artists responded to the contradictory environment in which they were living. The first, which I have called Yugoslav Pop Reactions, were those who enthusiastically embraced Pop Art aesthetics and materials, using popular culture as a form and a language enabling resistance against the socialist modernist canon, desiring further incorporation into Western Pop system. The second, which I have named Yugoslav Countercultural Pop, by contrast, were artists who were drawn to the democratic potential of Pop Art's cheap and reproducible materials, to conceptually return to the promises of the founding of Yugoslavia in which art was to be made by all and be accessible to all. They sought to return to the idea that the worker (artist) would be the subject of Yugoslav socialism. For these artists, popular culture and materials opened up a way to interrogate the role of culture in the country, in search of the promise of emancipation through art.

7. Chapter 3 Illustrations



Figure 1.

Zastava, magazine advert for the car Zastava 750, (1955)

The text reads 'Enterprise Red Flag' Kragujevac, Yugoslavia



Figure 2.

Filmske Novosti, stills from the film about the first *Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries*, held in Belgrade, September 1961, (1961)

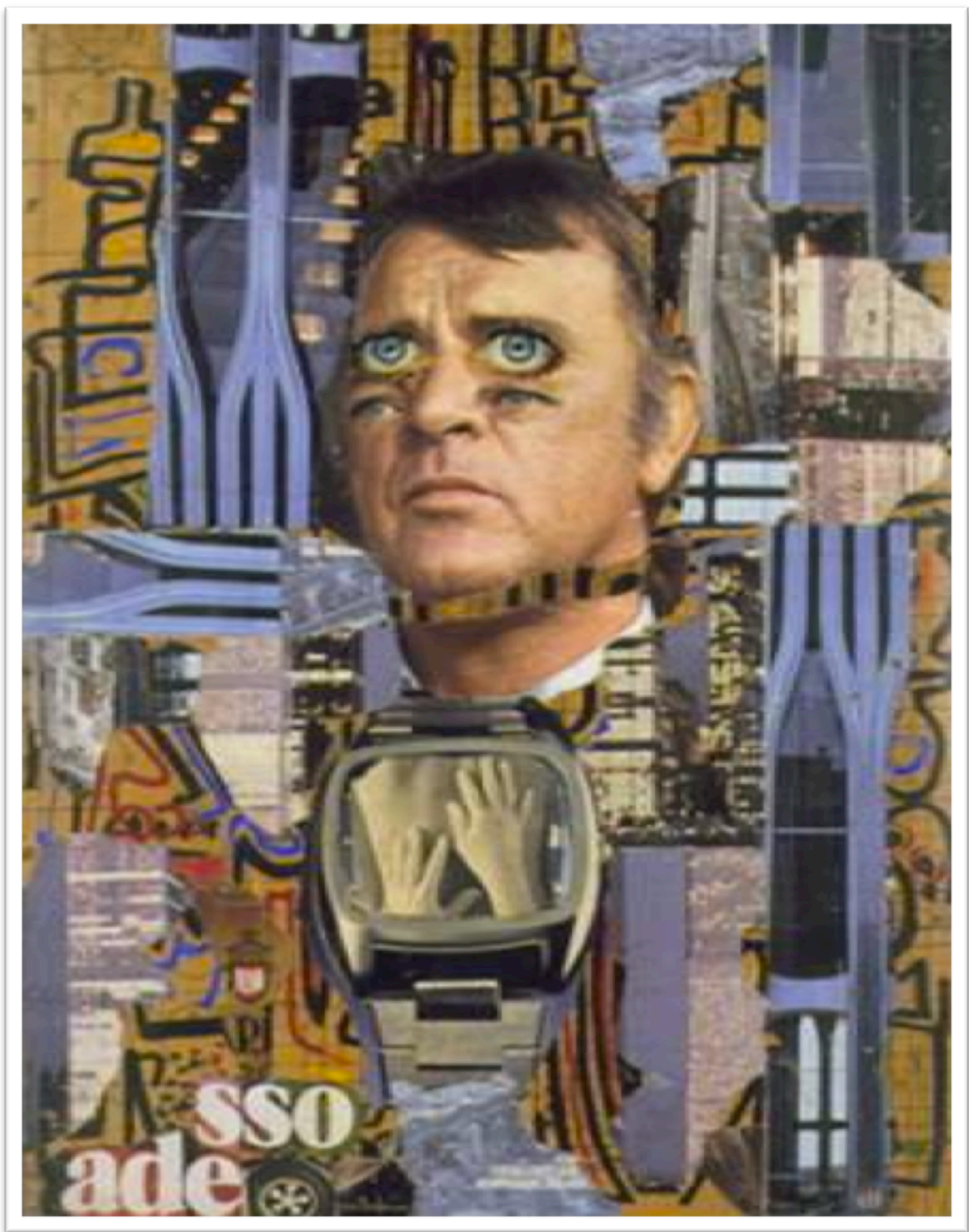


Figure 3.

August Černigoj, *Človek in Čas (Man and Time)*, (1972), collage



Figure 4.

Top: Photograph of Tito and Richard Burton during the shooting of *Sutjeska*, (1972)

Bottom: Richard Burton and Elisabeth Taylor with Tito and his wife Jovanka Broz, (1972)



Figure 5.

OHO, *The Eve of Destruction*, (1966), Super 8 Film stills

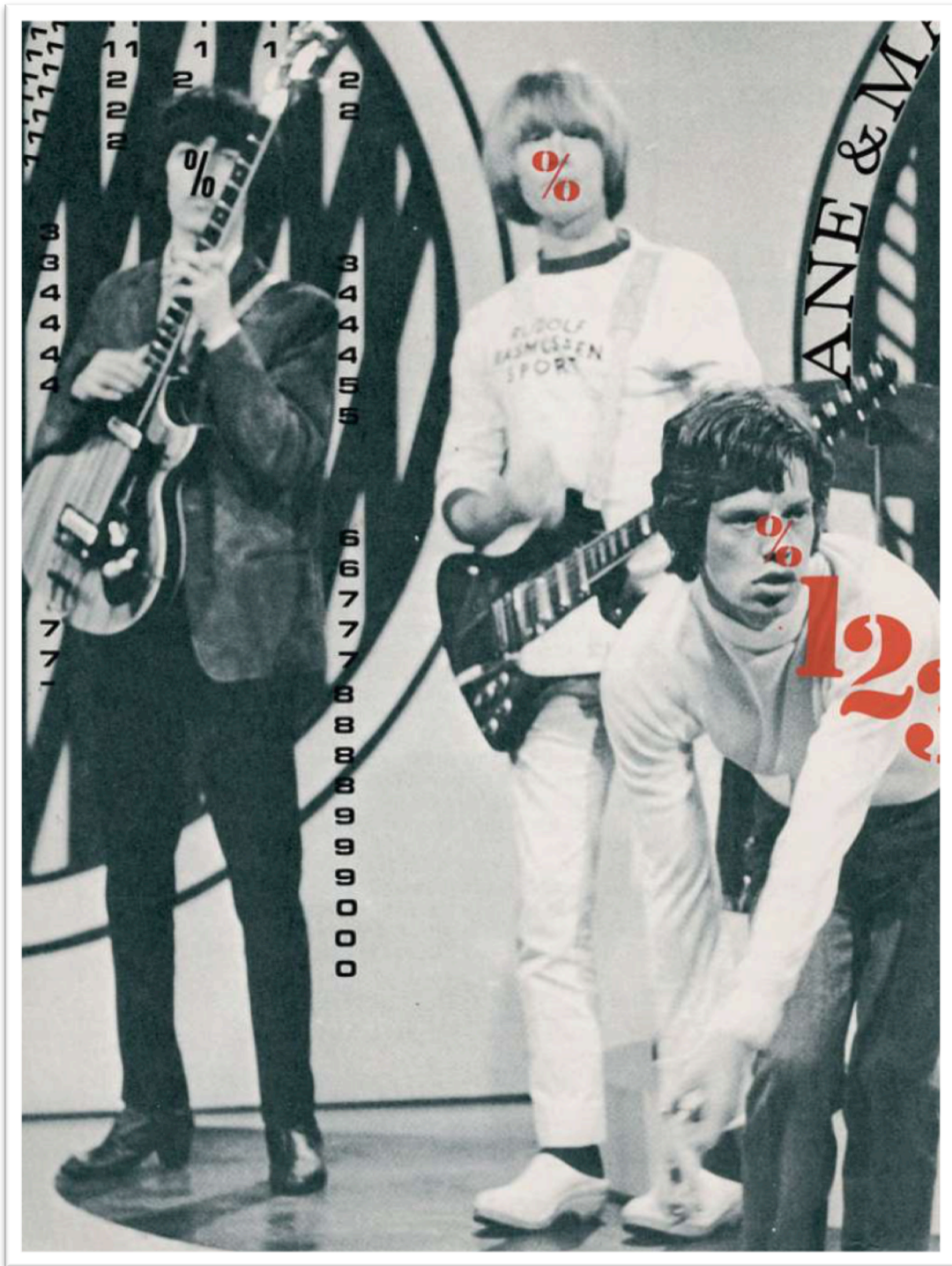


Figure 6.

Slavko Matkovic, *Rolling Stones are Living In My Street*, (1971)

Chapter 4—Two Strands Of Yugoslav Pop: Pop Reactions And Countercultural Pop

1. Defining Yugoslav Pop

In this chapter I make the central proposition of the thesis, which is that practices constituting Yugoslav Pop Art can be divided into two interwoven, temporally overlapping, but not entirely concurrent, distinct approaches to Pop Art. I have titled these two approaches ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’ and ‘Yugoslav Countercultural Pop’, as a way of distinguishing between their origins, goals and perspectives. These two modes of engagement with popular culture and consumer society, I will argue below, differ from one another not in terms of an affirmation or critique of consumerism and pop culture, but more profoundly, in the artists’ position vis-à-vis the art system, and the very role of art in society.

The distinction between the two categories emerges from, and builds on, an existing genealogy of Yugoslav 20th Century art, introduced by the influential Yugoslav art historian Jerko (Ješa) Denegri in 1978. Denegri proposed that in parallel to the dominant institutional and sanctioned artistic practices of socialist modernism – mainstream practices which formed the dominant history of Yugoslav visual arts– a parallel set of practices had been developing in the country. He named this parallel line of artistic operation *Druga Linija*– ‘Second Line’ or ‘the alternative route’.¹³⁰

The chapter introduces the dominant artistic climate in Yugoslavia of the 1960s and 1970s – socialist modernism – going on to map the way in which Pop Art, across the two categories outlined above, responded to it. This will be done

¹³⁰ Denegri’s terminology for the two categories – ‘prva linija’ and ‘druga linija’ would literally translate as ‘first line’ and ‘second line’, but the terms ‘mainstream’ and ‘alternative route’ seem more appropriate. Previously the term ‘alternative route’ has been used (see ‘Impossible Histories’ p. 177) and I have chosen here to use this term, which is less literal and more self-explanatory, pointing to artists’ positioning the practices within the art system.

through an analysis of the lineage of the work and a discussion of its defining characteristics.

Below I outline Denegri's delineation between artistic practices belonging to the 'first line' (mainstream) outputs, and those of the 'alternative route'. I will then go on to introduce the two strands of Yugoslav Pop – 'Yugoslav Pop Reactions' and 'Yugoslav Countercultural Pop' – in connection with Denegri's delineation. I will seek to demonstrate ways in which the two categories of Yugoslav Pop – 'Pop Reactions' and 'Countercultural Pop' draw their lineage from Denegri's 'first line' and 'alternative route' respectively.

The two retrospectively laid out art historical categories proposed by Denegri are used in this thesis as a foundation, and a form of a historical signposting helpful in mapping Yugoslav Pop variants. They provide a useful structure for understanding different artistic positions within the spectrum of Pop practices. 'Pop Reactions' and 'Countercultural Pop', like any art historical category, are to be understood as broad methodological tools, without claiming to be perfectly distinguishable from one another.

I propose that the 'Pop Reactions' and 'Countercultural Pop' stood for two divergent ways of responding to the disenchantment with socialist modernism (and artists' role within it) – both using the language of Pop Art. The two 'strands' of Yugoslav pop, I will go on to claim, also broadly represent two different political positions vis-à-vis the Westernisation and commercialization of Yugoslav society.

2. Ješa Denegri's Delineation Between 'Prva Linija' (The First Line) And 'Druga Linija' (The Alternative Route) In Relation Yugoslav Pop

Jerko (Ješa) Denegri (1936), a Split-born, Belgrade resident, is an art historian who worked as curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, between 1965 and 1991, subsequently taking the post of Professor at the Department of Art History at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy between 1991 and 2007. Denegri, perhaps the most prolific and active curator and critic on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, is one of the protagonists of this thesis, due to his

active role in shaping the Yugoslav artistic landscape through his curatorial and theoretical work and his active participation on the Belgrade (but also Yugoslavia-wide) art scene.¹³¹ Denegri's role must also be acknowledged as a catalyst in many artists' careers, for instance in being the first curator to introduce the work of film-maker Tomislav Gotovac into the context of the visual arts (previously Gotovac's work had been only seen in the film context) by organising an exhibition of Gotovac's collages at Belgrade's Student Cultural Centre gallery in December 1976.

Denegri's theory of the 'first line' and 'alternative route' practices was formulated in 1978, and has become a dominant local framework in the writing of Yugoslav postwar art history (with reference to pre-war avant-garde practices), forming the backbone of art historical accounts of the region of the former Yugoslavia.¹³²

It was the exhibition 'New Art Practice 1966- 1978' which took place in 1978 at the Zagreb Gallery of Contemporary Art (now Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb) that prompted Denegri, at the time Curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, to embark on the process of in-depth research into the lineage of the artistic practices exhibited in this show.

'New Art Practice 1966- 1978', curated by Marijan Susovski (the curator of Zagreb Gallery of Contemporary Art at the time), featured the work of approximately thirty emerging artists and groups from across Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia (the catalogue identifies individual cities across these three republics as hubs of the new practices, and overlooks the remaining three

¹³¹ Denegri has authored over three thousand theoretical and critical texts, as well as essays about modern and contemporary art across a wide range of newspapers, magazines, as well as specialised journals (including the influential journal *Umetnost* (Art), which started in 1965 with Denegri as a member of the editorial board). Denegri also authored numerous Yugoslav and Serbian visual art exhibitions, as well as monographs and catalogue prefaces for their most important protagonists. He was the selector of Yugoslav artists for the Biennial of Young Artists in Paris (Centre Pompidou) in 1971, 1976 and 1983 and was the commissioner for the Yugoslav pavilion at the Venice Biennial in 1976 and 1982.

¹³² Ješa Denegri has published a number of books on the 'first and second line'. See Edicija Sudac collection: *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju, Za Novu Umetnost Sedamdesetih* (Reasons for the Second Line, For the New Art of the Seventies), (Novi Sad: Sudac Editions and Museum of Contemporary Art, 2007) and *Prilozi za Novu Liniju*, (Contributions towards the Alternative Route), Edited by Marinko Sudac and Tihomir Jukic (Zagreb: Edition Artinova, 2015).

republics of Macedonia, Montenegro or Bosnia).¹³³ The exhibition brought together a wide variety of artists working in the sphere of conceptual art (though not yet referred to as such in Yugoslavia) including Marina Abramovic, Sanja Iveković, OHO, Braco Dimitrijević and others, who would go on to develop conceptual art practices in the years to come. All of the artists in the show worked in media other than painting or sculpture, often incorporating street actions, text-based works and performance. In many cases, the work also put authorship into question, seeking ways to work collectively or to involve others, from non-art communities in its making. In the curator's text, which introduced the substantial exhibition catalogue, Susovski sought to identify and define the characteristics of the practices on display, through numerous references to emerging 'practices with a difference'. Artists such as the group OHO and Braco Dimitrijević, he claimed, had 'changed their ways of operating as a result of the realisation that the old system of relations artist-artwork-society, is no longer socially relevant'.¹³⁴ Susovski used the term *izmnjenjena umjetnička komunikacija* – 'altered (amended) artistic communication', to describe commonalities across the works exhibited, which all significantly departed from the mainstream art tendencies (informel painting and sculpture) that were valued, accepted and endorsed (as well as funded) by the Yugoslav art establishment. Eventually, while writing about the innovation and new sensibilities evident in these practices, Susovski arrived at the term 'new art practice'. Susovski articulated the emergence of these new practices in this way:

In the initial moments, new artistic activities emerged or unfolded separately, in their own environments, effectively independent from one another. But soon they transformed into a singular line of activity

¹³³ New Art Practice 1966 – 1978 featured the work of: Marina Abramovic, Zeljko Borcic, Bosch + Bosch, Boris Bucan, Crveni Perestil (Red Perestyle) group, Radomir Damjanovic-Damnjan, Braco Dimitrijević, Vladimir Dodig, Nusa I Sreco Dragan, Goran Djordjevic, Galerija Stanara (Galerie Des Locateires), Ivan Ladislav Galeta, Tomislav Gotovac, Vladimir Gudac, Sanja Iveković, Dean Toumin Jokanovic, Jagoda Kaloper, Julije Knifer, Zeljko Kovacic, Ivan Kozaric, Dalibor Martinis, Era Milivojevic, Obitelj u Sempasu (the Sempas Family), OHO Group, Nada Orel, Grupa Penzioner Tihomir Simcic (the group Pensioner Tihomir Simeic), Zoran Popović, Bogdanka Poznanović, Vladan Radovanovic, Group (e, Josip Stosic, Sestorica Autora (the Group of Six), Predrag Sidjanin, Group 143, Ekipa A, Group KOD, Rasa Todosijevec, Group TOK, Davor Tomić, Goran Trbuljak, Gergelj Urkom, Verbumprogram. Catalogue published by Galerija suvremene umjetnosti Zagreb 1978.

¹³⁴ Marijan Susovski (Ed),. *Dokumenti 3 — 6, Nova umjetnička praksa 1966-1978* (Zagreb: Galerija Suvremene Umjetnosti, 1978), p. 3.

which located the reason to create in a different language of art and a different context in which art operated. It is obvious that this period saw changes that signaled innovation— new phenomena or a new art practice.¹³⁵

The research that Denegri subsequently conducted into the works that Susovski dubbed ‘new art practice’, led to his thesis that the New Art Practice artists, generationally close to one another— born between 1940 and 1950— were working in the lineage of the historic avant-garde in the region. Denegri pointed out that in parallel with the ‘first line’— mainstream, institutionally supported practices, another set of practices had been developing all along throughout the 20th Century, somewhat ‘under the radar’ of mainstream institutions. ‘New Art Practice’, according to Denegri, was the latest manifestation of a continuous and prolific avant-garde heritage on the Yugoslav territory (discussed further in this chapter). In his book on the subject, entitled *Razlozi za Drugu Liniju (Reasons for the Alternative Route)*, Denegri observed that it was evident that, broadly speaking, in the Yugoslav cultural arena

two moods or two mentalities existed simultaneously (rather than being clearly defined streams or movements), of which one could be called the mentality of modernism, with its numerous types and sub-types, while the other was the mentality of the avant-garde in its natural division between historical avant-gardes of the first half of the century, and the post-war avant-garde, unified by the common term ‘neo avant-garde’, which become especially evident in certain tense artistic and cultural circumstances in the sixties and early seventies.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Susovski, *Dokumenti 3 — 6, Nova umjetnička praksa 1966-1978*, p. Translation by Lina Džuverović. The original reads: ‘U prvim trenucima nove su umjetničke aktivnosti nastajale ili se odvijale u svojim sredinama gotovo neovisno o drugim, da bi se ubrzo pretvorile u jedinstvenu liniju koja je smisao stvaranja vidjela u izmijenjenu jeziku umjetnosti i kontekstu njezina djelovanja. Očito su se stoga u ovom periodu u našoj umjetnosti događale promjene koje znače inovaciju — nove pojave ili novu umjetničku praksu.’

¹³⁶ Ješa Denegri, *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju, - Za Novu Umetnost Sedamdesetih*, (Novi Sad: Edicija Sudac 2007), ‘Teze za Drugu Liniju’, p. 102.

While it is not entirely clear what moments precisely Denegri deems to be the tensions, it is likely that he is referring to the sharp split between socialist modernism and New Artistic Practice with its interrogations of the artistic status quo. For Susovski's New Art Practice artists, as discussed in the catalogue, art was 'an integral part of the criticism of the social praxis, in other words, a revolutionary mechanism for the introduction of qualitative changes into the social praxis'.¹³⁷

For Denegri, the introduction of the term 'alternative route' served as a way of 'establishing a certain continuity' between the history of practices outside the mainstream and emerging artistic developments at the time (namely New Art Practice – the conceptual led practices which emerged across the country in the early 1970s).¹³⁸ Denegri observed certain affinities and similar approaches connecting these practices, coining the term 'alternative route' as a way of highlighting that continuity. Denegri's demarcation into two parallel strands of artistic activity is a useful departure point for understanding the diverse forms of Yugoslav Pop Art. It is a lens via which to highlight the complex set of relations between individual artists and administrative structures – academies, awarding of studios, commissions, and travel grants.

It is worth noting that Denegri himself pointed to the limits of the binary proposition of 'mainstream' and 'alternative route' categories, putting it forward as a 'temporary tool' useful between 1970s and the early 1980s, for understanding the lineage of Yugoslav artistic practices. But by 1980s, Denegri claimed, the need for such a delineation was no longer there as Yugoslav artistic scene had entered a climate of pluralism and tolerance of multiple artistic voices by the 1980s, which could no longer be seen to clearly operate either within or outside of the support infrastructures, as had been the case previously.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Artist Rasa Todosijevec quoted in Susovski, 1978, p. 3, as quoted in Armin Medosch, *Automation, Cybernation and the Art of New Tendencies (1961 – 1973)*, PhD thesis submitted to Goldsmiths, University of London, UK, 2012, p. 242.

¹³⁸ Denegri, *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju*, p. 104.

¹³⁹ Denegri explains that after WW2 the very notion of avant-garde in the sense it existed in pre-war artistic movements can no longer be applied because orientation in art is no longer so clearly polarised. *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju*, p. 103.

While the merits of Denegri's demarcation must be acknowledged, it is also important to understand his own position and role as one of the key actors on the Yugoslav artistic scene. What precisely, from Denegri's perspective, constituted 'the mainstream' and was it possible to define its boundaries so clearly in socialist Yugoslavia? Were the lines between mainstream and marginal practices clear at the particular moment of Denegri's writing, in 1978? May the practices Denegri discusses sometimes belong to both the mainstream and the alternative route, being read differently depending on the reader's perspective and the time of writing? Do some artists practices oscillate between the mainstream and the margins at different points in their careers? And, equally, was Denegri himself an 'official' or 'unofficial' voice on the Yugoslav artistic landscape?

In what follows, with the above questions in mind, I will initially lay out the context for the 'first line' in the wider environment of Yugoslav socialist modernism, going on to discuss Pop practices as forms of resistance.

3. Socialist Modernism, or the Yugoslav mainstream - The 'First Line'

Socialist modernism is best described as set of dominant artistic conventions, which emerged at the beginning of 1950s, following the abrupt end of the short period of socialist realism.¹⁴⁰ It continued throughout the Cold War and into the 1980s. Rather than being represented by a particular style, various art historians have described socialist modernism as a 'climate', or a 'system', which dominated both Yugoslav public space, and its art education system. Art historian Miško Šuvaković has written about it as an 'overarching spiritual mood and a set of institutional apparatuses of the world of art within the 'soft' self-managed Yugoslav socialism' which, he further explained, were established through 'numerous political decisions and instrumental acts,

¹⁴⁰ Socialist Realism ceased to be the dominant expression in Yugoslavia by the early 1950s, but its formal end is associated with a speech given by the Croatian author Miroslav Krleža in Ljubljana at the Congress of the Yugoslav Writer's Union, 1952, which ended a long conflict within the so called 'literary left', in which he condemned the socialist realist doctrine, advocating freedom of artistic expression irrespective of any external moral or political pressures. For further information see Ješa Denegri, *Impossible Histories*, p 172

conflicts and polemics, and social compromises'.¹⁴¹ Although socialist modernism was not unified in terms of style, its core characteristic was a turn to abstraction, a politically significant move, used to signal Yugoslavia's alignment with the alleged freedom of expression associated with American abstract expressionism, contrasting socialist realism still prevalent in the Soviet bloc (although Hungary and Poland had abandoned socialist realism in 1956). Highlighting its ideological underpinnings, Denegri described socialist modernism as 'a very complex and contradictory artistic form which was encouraged, out of self-interest, by the dominant political ideological system because it suited its needs for international legitimacy in the West'.¹⁴² Socialist modernism, Denegri further stressed, was 'almost entirely based on, materially dependent on, and ideologically supervised by the institutions of political power'.¹⁴³

The turn to abstraction in Yugoslav art, according to art historian Ljiljana Kolečnik 'was equated with the acceptance of universalism of post-war modern culture, as well as of all (social) values connected with the notions of individual freedom of choice and autonomy of art'.¹⁴⁴ Endorsed by the country's institutions as representative of its cultural policy and ideological framework, these were practices that inspired the French art critic Michel Ragon to (somewhat simplistically) claim, in 1961, that 'in Yugoslavia living art is at the same time official art',¹⁴⁵ pointing to the apparent erasure of distance between of practice with the ideology within which it emerged.

But the extent to which freedom of choice, and artistic autonomy were possible varied wildly in Yugoslavia, depending on the context, the art-form and the exposure that the artworks were likely to receive. Large scale, highly visible

¹⁴¹ Miško Šuvaković, *Istorija Umetnosti u Srbiji XX Vek; Drugi Tom*, (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2012), 'Socijalistički Modernizam Tokom Hladnog Rata', ('Socialist Modernism during the Cold War'), p. 368, translation my own.

¹⁴² Ješa Denegri, *The Cultural and Artistic Context: "Socialist Modernism"*, GORGONA, Edition Sudac, forthcoming 2017, translation by Vesna Džuverović and Bojana Videkanic, final edit of the translation by Lina Džuverović. (I volunteered in an advisory capacity to help with the translation of some texts in this book which is being published by the Sudac collection.)

¹⁴³ Dubravka Djurić and Miško Šuvaković, eds, *Impossible Histories: Historic Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 2003), p. 174.

¹⁴⁴ Ljiljana Kolečnik, (Ed), *Socijalizam I Modernost, Umetnost, Kultura, Politika 1950 - 1974*, (Zagreb: Institute of Art History, 2012), p. 129.

¹⁴⁵ Djurić and Šuvaković, eds, *Impossible Histories*, p. 174.

works, in particular those specifically commissioned for display in protocolarian buildings (many of which were themselves results of ambitious commissioning initiatives), were closely scrutinized by the relevant committees, ensuring their suitability for the high-profile purpose.¹⁴⁶ Within the hierarchy of creative disciplines, film was seen by the Yugoslav authorities as the most high-profile artform while the visual arts, aside from those works commissioned to be displayed in prominent official buildings, did not undergo the same scrutiny since they did not share the same level of public exposure.

Freedom of artistic expression was in direct proportion to the reliance on state support. The mutually beneficial relationship between artists and the political propaganda system, meant that the relative freedom to be a professional (salaried) artist, benefiting from grants, commissions, studios and endorsement in the form of local and international exhibitions, was exchanged for an unspoken understanding that the artwork would not veer too far from the prescribed vision of what Yugoslav art ought to look like, contributing to its international image of a liberal artistic environment. Consequently, a certain level of conformity began to emerge as described by the art historian Vera Horvat-Pintaric:

An important factor in the development of Yugoslav art in the post-war period is the new status of the artist in the socialist society. In a variety of ways, the state participates in stimulating the material status of artists (free university education, free post-graduate courses and state-owned art studios, state-sponsored art acquisitions, social security and pension entitlements after a certain period of artistic activity, etc.). Consequently, certain conformist trends appear within the profession, as well as a threat of legitimization of mediocrity. Private gallery activities do not exist and thus artists are spared the anomalies of commodification, on the other hand, they miss private

¹⁴⁶ The term ‘Protokol’ - (protocol) is used in the languages of the former Yugoslavia to describe something being done correctly, following the rules (‘by the book’). The term ‘protocolarian’ - ‘*protokolarni*’ - is frequently used to describe spaces and procedures which followed a certain protocol - official rules of conduct in particular situation – especially in political contexts. The term was common in the bureaucratic language of the Yugoslav state. A protocolarian building or procedure would one used for official functions, a space that is designed for an official government purpose or a procedure that follows certain protocol assigned by the relevant government office.

buyers for their art works and material benefits originating in contemporary art commerce. Precisely because of the state's and society's involvement in improving the material position of artists, it is understandable that there is a possibility of administrative interventions and emergence of bureaucratic dogmatism in the field of art production.¹⁴⁷

In part swept up in the optimism of rebuilding the country in the 1950s, and in part keen to profit from the possibilities of achieving economic stability through their own practice, many Yugoslav artists embraced the funding structures and the available opportunities described above by Horvat-Pintaric, carving their places within the artistic system, frequently winning commissions and exhibition opportunities. Artists and architects, for instance Vojin Bakic, Petar Lubarda (who frequently represented military battles but abstracted the image), and the painter and muralist Slavko Pengov, to name but a few, adapted their style to comply with the Yugoslav national narrative, consequently enjoying the perks of the system.

Positions vis-à-vis the state apparatus were, of course, varied and individual, and artists' own views changed throughout their careers – often shifting from work to work, as did their acceptance by the establishment. Less compliant than the older generation, younger generations of artists in the 1960s, those that this thesis is concerned with, tried out different tactics to articulate their dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic system of socialist modernism. Examples of such shifts included controversies which emerged in relation to particular works by the Serbian painter and filmmaker Mica Popovic¹⁴⁸ which involved what was seen to be an inappropriate representation of Marshall Tito (discussed at length in Chapter 6), as well as, in 1970s, the film work of a

¹⁴⁷ Denegri, *The Cultural and Artistic Context: "Socialist Modernism. "Socialist Modernism"*, GORGONA, Edition Sudac, forthcoming 2017, translation by Vesna Džuverović and Bojana Videkanic, final edit of the translation by Lina Džuverović. (I volunteered in an advisory capacity to help with the translation of some texts in this book which is being published by the Sudac collection.)

¹⁴⁸ Mića Popović was a Serbian painter who in 1947 moved to Zadar, Croatia, and joined the 'Zadar Group' whose work was banned due to their political engagement. Upon his return to Belgrade, Popović refused to continue his studies at the academy, instead continuing his education under the tutelage of his former professor Ivan Tabakovic. Popović became controversial for his 1974 painting *Cermonial Painting (Svecana Slika)* in which he depicted Tito and his wife Jovanka alongside Dutch royalty as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

number of 'Black Wave' filmmakers including Vlado Kristl, Želimir Žilnik Lazar Stojanović and Dušan Makavejev¹⁴⁹, all of whom had benefited from the Yugoslav 'art system' through funding, studios and exhibition opportunities in their early careers, but, at a later date, faced prosecution and in some cases imprisonment as well as a long-term censorship of their work (both in the form of the prohibition to exhibit, and in the case of film, editing parts out) as a result of the political connotations identified in their work. Such conflicts will be the focus of Chapter 6.

According to Ješa Denegri, the Yugoslav art system from the 1950s onwards, functioned 'outside both the rigid ideological pressures prevalent in the countries of *real socialism*¹⁵⁰ and the advantages and the demands of the art market in the countries of liberal capitalism'.¹⁵¹

4. The Close Scrutiny Of The Commissioning Process

The aesthetics of socialist modernism can best be observed in the architecture of the country's numerous 'protocolarian' buildings and memorial sites, commissioned between 1947 and the late 1970s. Such edifices were also filled with especially commissioned art, craft and furnishings, generously supported through government funds. Here I will point to a number of key sites, with the aim of providing examples of the commissioning process and aesthetics– the system against which the young generation of artists in 1960s and early 1970s rebelled, by turning to Pop, everyday life materials and experiences.

Monuments commemorating the anti-fascist struggle, serving as a remembrance sites of victims of significant battles, included amongst many others memorials such as *Tjentiste* (completed in 1974) and *Petrova Gora* (competition held 1970, site completed 1981), (Fig. 1) which were designed by established architects and sculptors (in these cases Ranko Radović and Vojin

¹⁵⁰ The term 'real socialism' (also often used as 'really existing socialism' is taken to mean Soviet-style socialism (based around Soviet economic planning) as opposed to other, theoretical forms of socialism.

¹⁵¹ Dubra Djurić and Šuvaković, *Impossible Histories: Historic Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, p. 172.).

Bakic, respectively) as a result of public competitions. These sites, alongside many others erected across the country, formed the public face of memorialization of the People's Liberation Struggle, and were woven into Yugoslav public life, and the creation of the Yugoslav historical and cultural narrative, through numerous commemorative ceremonies, state visits as well as regular sites for school excursions and teaching about the People's Liberation Struggle.

The commissioning practice consisted of public calls for proposals for buildings and monuments for which architects were then selected following a rigorous and often long-winded selection process. Protocolarian buildings were then furnished with meticulously selected, newly commissioned art and craft, aimed at communicating to the world the aesthetics and core values of modern Yugoslavia: the legacy of People's Liberation Struggle (*Narodno-oslobodilacka borba*), the focus on brotherhood and unity (between Yugoslavia's diverse peoples across its six republics and two provinces) and internationalism, while also showcasing Yugoslavia's modernisation and industrialisation. The commissioning process at all times had to follow the formula of equality of voices from each of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces, meaning that each opportunity had to, wherever possible, include an equal representation of artists from each of the republics and provinces. This formula, informally referred to as selecting 'by the key' (*po kljucu*), was a tokenistic, but egalitarian process applied across all areas of practice in the country.

Some best-known government buildings commissioned in this way included, amongst others, the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia¹⁵² (Fig. 2) (also known as the 'SIV' building, an acronym for *Savezno Izvršno Veće*—Federal Executive Council) built in Belgrade between 1947 and 1962, located in New Belgrade, and the People's Assembly Building of the Republic of Slovenia, commissioned at the end of

¹⁵² The 'Palace of Serbia' building (as it is known today) in New Belgrade was the official building used by the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia (*Savezno izvršno veće*). The building works began in 1947 and the building was completed in 1959. It was designed by lead architect Vladimir Potočnjak and his team, and following his death in 1952, Mihailo Janković took over, designing the interior and overseeing the construction until completion in 1959, following a seven year gap.

1947, and built between 1954 and 1959, located in central Ljubljana. Additionally hundreds of works of art and craft were commissioned to be placed in these buildings. The SIV Building, featured 140 commissioned works of art and craft objects, and included a salon for each of the six Yugoslav republics, decorated in the local style of that Republic. ((Fig, 2), a composite image showcasing examples of the Bosnian, Montenegrin and Serbian Salons). The largest and most impressive of all, the centrally located ‘Yugoslav Salon’ housed the most monumental works by artists from across the country, including the 20-metre fresco entitled *The Flight Into Cosmos* by Petar Lubarda (visible in the interior image featuring the Yugoslav Salon in Figure 3), *The Paths of Yugoslavia*’ by Lazar Vukajlija as well as the triptych mosaic *The Creation of the New Yugoslavia* by Mladen Srbinovic. The style of such works, which veered towards abstraction, but still retained pared-down figurative elements, has been characterized by Branislav Dimitrijević as ‘abstract symbolism’¹⁵³, a synthesis of socialist realist figurative-expressive symbolism, modernist abstract-humanist symbolism and a type of archetypal symbols of ‘our land’ (‘our’ paysage and ‘our’ tradition)’, which Dimitrijević further claimed formed the basis of the language of the anesthetization of ‘suffering and defiance’, which in turn forms the Yugoslav cultural identity.¹⁵⁴

Every detail of these memorials, buildings and art objects was closely scrutinised as this was the vision of Yugoslavia that would both represent the country to its high-profile international visitors in person, and also contribute to a lasting legacy communicated and preserved through photographs and *Filmske Novosti* (Film News) – a film bulletin founded in 1944, discussed in the previous chapter. The commissioned buildings and their interiors played a key role in the building of Yugoslav national iconography and international image. For instance, one of the most famous of events was the hosting of the first

¹⁵³ Dimitrijević, Branislav, *Utopijski Konzumerizam: Nastanak I Protivrečnosti Potrošačke Kulture U Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1950-1970)* Doktorska Disertacija, (*Utopian Consumerism: The Emergence And The Contradictions Of The Consumer Culture In Socialist Yugoslavia (1950-1970)*) PhD, (Belgrade: University Of Arts In Belgrade, 2011), section VI ‘Moderna Umetnost izmedju kulturne politike i potrosackog mizanscena’, p. 236, Translation by Lina Džuverović.

¹⁵⁴ Interestingly Dimitrijević traces the reoccurring motif of raised arms found in many Yugoslav monumental sculptures, which he claims to be at the core of the aesthetisation of ‘suffering and defiance’, back to Goya’s painting *The Third of May 1808: The Execution of the Defenders of Madrid*, 1814.

meeting of the Non-aligned Movement held in part in 1961 at the freshly-completed Yugoslav Salon of the SIV Building in Belgrade (Fig. 2) and in part at the Assembly Building in central Belgrade.

The People's Assembly Building of the Republic of Slovenia (Fig. 4) located in central Ljubljana was similarly commissioned in response to a call extended to five Slovene architects, following an initial open call in which no design had been selected.¹⁵⁵ Vinko Glanz, a well-known Slovene architect was eventually selected to design the Assembly Building.¹⁵⁶ An example of the protocols behind the commissioning process, in which artworks met close scrutiny of the commissioning team, can be found in the transcript of a stenographic record of the Committee for the review of artistic works and sculptures in the new People's Assembly in Ljubljana, which took place on 7 March 1958.¹⁵⁷ The document – which illuminates one in a series of moments in the creation of national iconography– is testament to the close scrutiny to which the commissioned artworks were subjected. The transcript is an insight into in a series of meetings that took place throughout the process of commissioning artworks for the building.¹⁵⁸ In this instance the two works that discussed were large wall pieces by the Slovenian painter and muralist Slavko Pengov (1908-1966) (Fig. 4) entitled *Zgodovina Slovencev (The History of Slovenes)*, and a triptych by the Slovenian painter Gabriel Stupica (1913 – 1990) (Fig. 5.).

The large fresco by Slavko Pengov was discussed first in the meeting, and it is revealed that Pengov had by this point addressed all the comments the committee had made in a previous meeting (or meetings). These comments reveal the level of detail of the committee's involvement. Pengov, it transpired,

¹⁵⁵ In a letter from the President of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia, to Vinko Glanz, sent out on 30 September 1947, the President Dr Ferdo Kozak explains the initial unsuccessful open call, inviting Glanz to be one of the five architects to put forward a proposal for the Palace of the People's Assembly, with a deadline of 15.12. 1947. The letter is reprinted in Tevž Logar, Ed, *For Our Economy and Culture, Jasmina Cibic, Pavilion of Slovenia at 55th International Art exhibition, La Biennale di Venezia, 2013*, (Ljubljana: Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana — MGML, 2013), pp. 294 – 295.

¹⁵⁶ Vinko Glanz (1902 - 1977) was a Slovenian architect of Montenegrin descent. He studied in Zagreb.

¹⁵⁷ This document was kindly shared with me by the artist Jasmina Cibic who obtained it from the archive of the architect of the People's Assembly Building of the Republic of Slovenia, Vinko Glanz, as part of her research for her Venice Biennial exhibition in the Slovenian Pavilion, entitled 'For Our Economy And Culture' (2012).

¹⁵⁸ It becomes clear that this meeting is one of many when at the beginning of the text one of the attendees refers to previous meetings in which this work had been discussed.

had been asked to represent a former bureaucratic high official of the Austrian Empire, Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, with a high closed collar in order to avoid showing a bare neck.¹⁵⁹ He had also been asked to slightly alter the scene in which he portrayed the arrival of the occupier, by moving the haystack which was previously behind the back of a town servant, more to the right. Lastly the demand placed upon him was that the emblem of an eagle and swastika be removed from the depiction of a 'German boot', because the Germans were not the only occupiers; there were also Italians and Hungarians.

The transcript went on to confirm that Pengov had successfully addressed all of these comments and the committee subsequently complemented the work, pointing that the colourways had also improved since the last meeting.

The next work on the agenda was a triptych by Gabriel Stupica, whose response to the commission's instructions to paint 'the fruit of our lands' was, it transpired, met with criticism and doubt in its suitability for this context (Fig. 6– sketch for the triptych). The committee scrutinised numerous aspects of the artist's work, from the format (a triptych, it was felt carried religious connotations, unacceptable for a socialist country, the committee implied) to the choice and depiction of the motifs. Stupica's interpretation of 'the fruits of our land', it soon became apparent in the transcript, was not acceptable to the committee. In one of the more passionate moments, eminent art historian, Dr. Stane Mikuš, exclaimed:

I personally believe that this thing absolutely does not belong in the People's Assembly, both because of the content and motifs, not to forget that its attitude towards our people is inappropriate. What is portrayed here are some hags, not our women....flower ladies, lace sellers, and greengrocers certainly cannot represent our people.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich (full name Klemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar, Fürst von Metternich-Winneburg zu Beilstein, anglicised as Clement Wenceslas Lothar von Metternich-Winneburg-Beilstein; 15 May 1773 – 11 June 1859) was a politician and statesman of Rhenish extraction and one of the most important diplomats of his era, serving as the Austrian Empire's Foreign Minister from 1809 and Chancellor from 1821 until the liberal revolutions of 1848 forced his resignation.

¹⁶⁰ Stenographic minutes of the Commission for the Review of Artistic and Sculptural Works in the New Palace of the People's Assembly PRS, which took place on 7 March 1958 at the People's Assembly (the parliament building) of the People's Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana.

Stupica's triptych, which addressed the subject of resistance and oppression, was eventually rejected. His proposal for a monumental triptych featuring protesters and complemented on each side by market women, was seen as not faithful to the reality of its time, and was deemed too modern.

The transcript of the meeting is illustrative of the level of control involved in visual representations of Yugoslavia in public buildings in 1958, but also of the specificity of the Yugoslav narrative that was being built. It is also worth noting that the content of these highly scrutinized commissioned artworks was far from the much-discussed abstraction and freedom of artistic expression. The commissioned artworks, in fact, represented a very specific vision of the Yugoslav narrative (at least in the case of Slavko Pengov's triptych) shaping a highly proscribed visual representation which was (at least in these cases) closer to socialist realism than the art informel famously associated with this period in Yugoslav art.

5. The Contested Role of the Artist in Yugoslavia of the 1950s and 1960s

The reality demonstrated above by the close scrutiny applied to artists' works was in conflict with the shifting notion of the artists' role in Yugoslav society in the 1950s. By the late 1950s the role of artists in Yugoslavia began to shift from being perceived as active agents in the service of the state, responsible for disseminating and strengthening party ideology by depicting working class heroes and promoting values such as self-sacrifice and courage,¹⁶¹ to being viewed (or at least officially treated) as independent thinkers and cultural workers whose overall cultural formation and independent thought was in the interest of the state. In writing about cultural policy of the Communist Party,

¹⁶¹ From 1947 on as part of the first five year plan, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had supported the creation of numerous cultural and artistic associations on a Yugoslav but also on a regional (republican) level, aimed at attracting artists who would, through ideological influence, inspire bodies of artistic work put at the service of promoting and spreading socialist beliefs. As art was seen as the property of the people, works that were produced had to be populist, accessible to a mass audience and act as a reflection and documentation of reality. In the case of literature, depiction of working class heroes and freedom fighters was encouraged. Themes of courage, self-discipline and personal sacrifice for a better collective future were endorsed. Simple and clear aesthetics were to follow socialist principles.

the historian Miomir Gatalovic has pointed out that by the late 1950s, 'It [the state] stopped treating them [artists] like simple clerks who worked for a set salary, and began to treat them as free cultural workers, thus granting artistic practice the status of an independent profession secured via a system of employment contracts, social security and a fund for pensions.'¹⁶² As part of this policy many scholarships and travel grants were awarded, such as for instance a grant enabling the founder of Belgrade's Contemporary Art Museum, Miodrag B. Protić to spend six months at New York's MoMA researching the museum's inner workings in 1963, with a view to applying this knowledge in the founding of Belgrade's own museum,¹⁶³ while international scholarships also enabled students and professionals from other countries to study and gain work experience in Yugoslavia.¹⁶⁴ Consequently, a hybrid form of cultural policy developed, one which actively promoted internationalism and the exposure of a Yugoslav professional public to Western cultural outputs, as a way of increasing Yugoslavia's participation on the international cultural circuit, yet one in which subjects remained under scrutiny, controlled in ways that were dispersed and indirect (in contrast to Soviet Bloc countries where forms of oppression were easy to locate). In terms used by Marusa Pusnik and Breda Luthar, this was a form of power that 'works as a pervasive network, which weaves itself into the most ordinary utterances, into the forms of common sense and everyday practices', evoking Michel Foucault's notion of governmentality.¹⁶⁵

Power, Michel Foucault famously claimed, is not a property but a set of relations. His concept of governmentality, or 'art of government' emphasizes

¹⁶² Miomir Gatalović, 'Between Ideology and Reality: Socialist Concept of Cultural Policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) 1945-1960', *Istorija 20. veka*, 27, 37–56 (p. 46).

¹⁶³ Lina Džuverović, An interview with Miško Šuvaković, Belgrade, February 2013.

¹⁶⁴ Between 1954 and 1967 about 2400 citizens from 75 developing countries completed Yugoslav schools on scholarships from the country, 900 students received specialist training and completed postgraduate courses and approximately 2000 students attended Yugoslav colleges that were either financed individually or by their respective governments. Source: Johanna Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism, The Left-Wing Origins of Neoliberalism*, (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

¹⁶⁵ Breda Luthar and Marusa Pusnik, *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, (Washington DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010, p. 10.

the ‘reciprocal constitution of power techniques and forms of knowledge’.¹⁶⁶ In other words, governmentality emerges through complex relations, rather than existing in solid centres of concentrated power. For Foucault the semantic link between the action of governing (‘*gouverner*’) and modes of thinking (‘*mentalité*’), which are embedded in the term *governmentality*, points to the complex intertwined relationship between ‘technologies of power’¹⁶⁷ and the ‘technologies of the self’ – or the emergence of a subject within the system of thought (political rationality) that underpins the present system. Within the emerging political rationality of Yugoslav self-management, discussed below, the goal was for an individual’s sense of self-realization to gradually become intertwined with the political goals of the new Yugoslavia.

Dispersed forms of power and control – as demonstrated in the above instance of the commissioning process – manifested themselves in the cultural realm, but rarely were artworks directly censored or forbidden as this would have been too close to the Soviet binary model of official and dissident artists, and in conflict with Yugoslavia’s desired image of a softer and less restrictive form of socialism. Instead, the political rationality of Yugoslav third-way socialism would, it was hoped, become embedded in its subjects’ worldviews, and would naturally find a voice in cultural outputs without the need for ‘hard’ forms of censorship or prohibition. Yugoslavia, thus, had no dissident artists as such (at least not until the mid 1970s), but more of a range of artistic positions with a complex set of structures in place which ‘softly’ encouraged certain directions and put under pressure any ‘questionable’ artistic behavior (as will be further discussed in the final section of this chapter in the example of the Student Cultural Centre).

¹⁶⁶ I am using here the definition of governmentality as articulated by Thomas Lemke, ‘The birth of Bio-Politics – Michel Foucault’s Lecture at the College de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality, *Economy And Society*, Vol. 30, 2, 2001, 190-207.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Technologies of power’ is one of four cornerstones of Foucault’s major project that is the study of the history of the way humans develop knowledge about themselves. The other ‘technologies’, apart from the ‘technologies of power’ are ‘technologies of the self’, ‘technologies of production’, and ‘technologies of sign systems’. It is through the study of the way that the four inter-relate that Foucault constructs his study of the history of the organization of knowledge. – notes from Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton, Eds., *Technologies Of The Self A Seminar With Michel Foucault*, (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 16-49.

6. The Artist and Self-Management

This central mechanism of Yugoslav socialism, the system of self-management, initially developed by Edvard Kardelj, its main ideologist in 1950s, was based around the gradual withering away of the state, in favour of a set of newly developed mechanisms built around the worker as the main subject, who, through their participation in worker councils, had a certain amount of decision-making power, such as deciding on how profits would be spent, deciding between investment in infrastructure, worker conditions, new equipment, etc.¹⁶⁸

This new system, developed in the early 1950s as a strategic move set to differentiate Yugoslav socialism from the Soviet form of centralized governance, as a result of the 1948 ruptures between the two, was based on two central concepts, introduced in 1949. These were decentralisation, which meant that now the local governments of the six Yugoslav republics gained a greater influence than before (as summed up in one of Yugoslavia's core maxims, 'brotherhood and unity'), and secondly, the aforementioned establishment of working councils in state companies. The working councils were to gradually take over the functions performed by the state, and to eventually be taken over by associations of free producers, with workers as its central subjects, in control of their labour and decision-making. This system also looked after other aspects of people's lives— housing, childcare/schooling, healthcare as well as holidays, which were provided free of charge or heavily subsidised by the state.¹⁶⁹ Bringing social reality and workers' needs closer to ideology (which was at the very core of what was at the time referred to as Yugoslav 'socialism with a human face'), Kardelj's vision was in line with Marx's proclamation

¹⁶⁸ Edvard Kardelj (1910 – 1979) was a Slovenian politician, and economist by profession, who fought as a Partisan on the Slovenian Liberation Front during the Second World War, and later became one of the key leaders in Tito's Yugoslavia. He is credited the main architect of the system of workers' self-management.

¹⁶⁹ Holidays were subsidised by the state in a number of ways. The state offered financial benefits for workers as well as by constructing subsidized holiday centres (also rehabilitation centres which offered free treatments such as massage or physiotherapy) on the Croatian or Montenegrin coast, which would often be visited by large groups of co-workers in the summer. For a detailed account of subsidized holidays see Igor Duda, 'Adriatic for All: Summer Holidays in Croatia', in Breda Luthar, Breda, and Maruša Pušnik, , Eds., *Remembering Utopia*. pp 289-312.

that it is not enough to interpret the world, but that the point is to change it.¹⁷⁰ For that to happen the architects of self-management, saw it as necessary not to only change property relations by nationalising assets, but to also put in place a system which would eventually enable the withering away of the state.¹⁷¹ In his observations of the Yugoslav system, in 1958, philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, a frequent visitor to the country as a participant in the Korcula Summer School,¹⁷² claimed that Yugoslavia had indeed succeeded in setting up ‘the socio-economic basis for the withering away of the state. It comprises a complex structure of local, decentralised and democratically elected organs: worker administration councils in factories, producer councils at various levels (municipalities, districts, federated republics, federation...).’¹⁷³

The system, beyond its economic rationale, was envisaged as operational on numerous other levels, including ways in which it was envisaged as becoming embedded in the psychological make-up of its subjects. Stane Dolanc, one of President Tito’s closest advisors, wrote about the constitution of the subject in the country as being inextricably linked to the political rationality of self-

¹⁷⁰ For a more in-depth analysis of the rise and fall of Yugoslav self-management, see Bitter, Sabine and Weber, Helmut, Eds., *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade* (Sternberg Press and Fillip Editions, 2009)

¹⁷¹ In parallel, and inextricably linked to its organization of labour, a key characteristic of Yugoslav socialism was its radical revision of property ownership. A core aspect of the post-WW2 reforms in Yugoslavia consisted of a process of nationalization of private property and the creation of a category named ‘social property’. This term – ‘*drustvena svojina*’ – bears some similarities with the British concept of ‘the commons’, or ‘common land’, but whilst common land was owned collectively, in other words, it still has a legal title, even if a collective one, ‘*drustvena svojina*’ was technically administered as a class of property with no title, and was distinct from ‘state property’, which was owned by state institutions. *Drustvena svojina*, according to the Constitution of SFRJ in 1972 was defined as ‘belonging to each and every member of the community, and to everyone together, but to nobody in its entirety, nobody exclusively’. *Drustvena Svojina*, legally was administered by ‘sociopolitical communities,’ which were administrative units such as municipalities, regions, republics, created in the name of the eventual withering of the state. The ‘sociopolitical communities’ were governed by their members, in another example of self-management. In terms of property, this was the core difference between ‘social self- management’ and the USSR version of ‘statist socialism’.

¹⁷² Korcula Summer School was founded by Rudi Supek and Milan Kangrga, two of the founding members of Praxis journal, affiliated with the Departments of Philosophy and Sociology at the Philosophical Faculty in Zagreb. The idea emerged in 1962 and the first pilot school was held in 1963 in Dubrovnik and attended by the inner circle of its founders alongside with international philosophers and sociologists from across Europe, including Erich Fromm, Henri Lefebvre, and Lucien Goldmann.

¹⁷³ Henri Lefebvre quoted in Klaus Ronnenberger, ‘Henri Lefebvre and the Question of Autogestion’, in , Sabine Bitter and Helmut Weber, Eds., *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade* (Vancouver BC and New York NY: Sternberg Press and Fillip Editions, 2009)

management.¹⁷⁴ According to Dolanc, Yugoslav *governmentality* meant that the goals of self-management would align with individual's own goals. Dolanc wrote:

Self-management is a specific form of social organization and a specific way of living which deeply affects the entire structure of one's personality, and the personalities of all working people and self-managing citizens. Within the conditions and relations of self-management one's entire consciousness changes, as do value systems, goals, morality, motivations, etcetera. Forms in which such changes occur in an individual are numerous and complex, and it is for this reason that a more profound engagement is needed of all scientific disciplines, which are directed towards the human being as an individual.¹⁷⁵

But how did principles of self-management manifest themselves in culture, beyond being adopted at the organizational level of artists associations governing Yugoslav cultural life (such as for instance the 'Association of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia' (Savez Likovnih Umetnika Jugoslavije–SLUJ) and its regional equivalents)?¹⁷⁶ What social role did the artist in socialist Yugoslavia perform?

¹⁷⁴ Stane Dolanc (November 16, 1925 – December 13, 1999) was a Yugoslav communist politician from Slovenia, and one of Broz Tito's closest collaborators. He was seen as one of the most influential politicians in the 1970s and 1980s and held the posts of secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) from 1971 to 1978, federal Secretary of the Interior from 1982 to 1984 and a member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia from 1984 to 1989.

¹⁷⁵ Stane Dolanc, *Marxist Science and Social Praxis - Notebooks For Theory And Praxis Of Self-Management (Marksistička Teorija I Socijalna Praksa Sveske Za Teoriju I Praksu Samoupravljanja)*, (Zagreb, Ljubljana: Jugoslovenski Centar Za Teoriju I Praksu Samoupravljanja 'EDVARD Kardelj Delavska Enotnost Ljubljana Informator, 1980), p. 18, Translation my own. The date of this text is not specified although it must be 1978 as some of the footnotes in the text quote sources from 1978.

¹⁷⁶ The Association of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia (*Savez Likovnih Umetnika Jugoslavije - SLUJ*) was formed in 1947 and the first president was the Croatian sculptor Antun Augustincic. The purpose of SLUJ was to co-ordinate the workings of other regional artist associations which had formed in previous years (ULUS – the Association of Visual Artists of Serbia (Udruzenje Likovnih Umetnika Srbije) was founded in 1944 and equivalent associations were formed in 1945 in the other republics). The founding congress of SLUJ took place in Zagreb in December 1947 and was inaugurated by a speech by the Serbian painter Djordje Andrejevic 'Kun' which served as a form of a solemn oath on behalf of the artists to the new political order (for further analysis of the speech see the rest of this chapter).

For further information on artists associations also see: Nick Miller, *The Nonconformists Culture, Politics, and Nationalism in a Serbian Intellectual Circle, 1944–1991*, Central European University Press, 2007, p. 18.

If we look back to the inaugural speech given by the celebrated painter of the Yugoslav revolution, Djordje Andrejevic Kun, delivered at the founding summit of the The Association of Visual Artists of Yugoslavia (*Savez Likovnih Umetnika Jugoslavije–SLUJ*) in Zagreb in December 1947, the role of the artist in the People’s Liberation Struggle had quite simply been seen as an illustrative one. Kun saw the role of artists simply as illustrators of the process of rebuilding the country (despite the much more significant ideological ambitions for the role of art and culture in the Partisan movement). The speech called for artists to become inspired by the process, rather than proposing how their role could be more significant and more embedded within the process itself:

Visual artists are also part of the heroic efforts of socialist rebuilding of our country. For them the five year plan of rebuilding of socialism offers a new inspiration and new themes.¹⁷⁷

Kun did not go on to define the role of the artist further, but it is clear from his statement that in 1947 the art was seen as illustrative, linked to the aesthetics of artistic production, without considering the possibility of a deeper, more integrated involvement in which artistic practice could more actively participate in the fabric of rebuilding Yugoslavia. In the years leading up to 1950, the significance of artistic practice in the country lay in providing the visual representation of the revolution, in the form of commemoration of the Yugoslav Partisan struggle, and the celebration of the worker.

For cultural workers in self-management this meant that by joining one of the numerous associations specific to their field (associations of visual artists, association of applied arts, architects’ association, etc) they could benefit from the structures put in place, which included being allocated artist studios, participation in annual members’ exhibitions as well as international exhibitions, access to scholarships, a pension and healthcare. This well-developed system meant that those working in culture could benefit from a

¹⁷⁷ Translation my own, quote from *-Slikarski Pravci XX veka* (Directions in Painting of the 20th Century) by Lazar Trifunovic, 1988.

range of opportunities, in similar ways to enterprise or factory workers, adapted to their own field. But, as we will see further on in this chapter, through a closer look at the commissioning process, while the system stretched as far as the creation of the overarching infrastructure, the actual availability of particular opportunities was contingent on the work's compliance with the larger scheme, and aesthetic values, of socialist modernism.

The illustrative role of culture meant that the artist (cultural worker) as a political subject was not fully incorporated, or articulated as important to the socialist goals, within socialist modernism.

The problem of the arts not being seen as instrumental to society was precisely one of the key points in the critique by the New Left (associated with *Praxis*, a journal) and later within the 1968 protests, which eventually led to the creation of Student Cultural Centres, as public spaces for culture, giving birth to a new, fresh wave of post 1968 thinking about culture as integral to the fabric of society, not merely illustrative of its workings.

A critique of the bureaucracy of Yugoslav socialism was articulated most poignantly in the student communities, and most vocally expressed by the Praxis school, a Marxist humanist philosophical movement which emerged in Belgrade and Zagreb in 1960s. Affiliated with the philosophy departments at the city's universities, the Praxis group published a Serbo-Croat and an international version of the journal *Praxis*¹⁷⁸, between 1964 and 1974 and organised a summer school on the island of Korcula (Croatia).

In the preface to the journal *Praxis* in May/June 1965 (a special issue focused on culture) the editors made a case for an inextricable link between socialism and culture, positing that 'Socialism as a true human society can, and should, realise a versatile development of authentic human culture.[..] The development of culture in socialism is not just an external embellishment of

¹⁷⁸ Praxis was a Marxist humanist philosophical movement which started in Belgrade and Zagreb in the early 1960s. The associated journal *Praxis* was published from 1964 to 1976. Praxis members also organised summer school on the island of Korcula between 1964 and 1974, which was attended by many well-known Marxist philosophers. For the full archive of Praxis see: <<https://praxis.memoryoftheworld.org/>> last accessed 15 April 2017.

socialism with something that does not intrinsically belong to it, and it is especially not a benevolent permissiveness of the weaknesses (capriciousness) and moods of spoiled individuals or social strata. This is why the view that it is possible to delay a stronger development of culture, until socialism is better developed, is unacceptable. Delaying culture means delaying socialism.¹⁷⁹

The role of ‘cultural goods’ (*kulturnih dobara*) was at stake here, and the editors claimed that ‘We can only speak of the production of cultural goods (artefacts) if by that we mean creative co-experiencing. Production and consumption of cultural goods (artefacts) are not activities in which the maker of those goods can remain unchanged. Through the creation of cultural ‘artefacts’ and by their preservation, living inside them and with them, a person creates themselves, as a cultured human being.’¹⁸⁰

The editors went on to explain that the creation and consumption of cultural goods does not occur for its own sake, and particularly not ‘for the sake of amassing of such goods in museums and libraries’. The *raison d’être* of culture, according to this view, was the creation of a cultural community of cultured persons. This view of the Praxis editors was precisely the fundamental difference between Western Pop and what I will call Yugoslav ‘Countercultural Pop’. The very view of culture as the locus of ‘creative co-experiencing’, which in turn impacts personality formation, was fuelled by the idea that culture was so central to the social fabric that it would change its members creating a ‘cultural community of cultured persons’. It is this legacy that is evoked in artist Sanja Iveković’s well-known statement about the Yugoslav artistic landscape of the 1970s in which she pointed out that ‘those who were active on the countercultural scene at the time took the socialist project far more seriously than the cynical governing political elite’.¹⁸¹

The ‘self’ in self-management is the collective self. The first half of the hyphenated term reflects the agency of the worker, in which the worker holds the decision-making power, as opposed to being governed ‘from above’.

¹⁷⁹ Praxis Journal, Issue 3, 1965; ‘Instead of an Introduction’, Page 351,

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 352.

¹⁸¹ ‘Feminism, activism and Historicisation: Sanja Iveković talks to Antonia Majača’, *n.paradoxa* 23 (London, 2009), p. 6.

Dolanc's notion of a shift in the subject's sense of self-realisation can be read in light Foucault's notion of governmentality – an entanglement of a mentality and governance, in a political rationality shaped by the goals of the political rationality of self-management. This self in self-management is the work of many 'selves' who together govern their own workplace. The self in self-management is a social self, and the action of self-managing, can only be a collective action (one worker cannot manage a factory under self-management).

It is precisely this aspect of self-management that Yugoslav Countercultural Pop artists would seek to interrogate, as will be discussed in the final section of this chapter, with a focus on the example of the communities which emerged around the Student Cultural Centres in the early 1970s.

7. Pop Reactions

This chapter has so far focused on the environment of socialist modernism and the shifting role of both culture and cultural workers within it. I have so far sought to lay out the mechanics of the cultural politics that formed Denegri's category of 'The First Line', or the Yugoslav mainstream, from the late 1950s onwards. These well-supported and well-documented practices form the backbone of today's dominant art historical narrative covering the territory of the former Yugoslavia, with much scholarly art historical work being devoted to individual painters and sculptors of this era, but also to the architecture and memorial sites most visibly associated with Yugoslav socialism, which will be discussed further in this chapter. But given the fact that socialist modernism retained a distance from everyday experience of Yugoslav citizens, 'First Line' paintings, sculptures and buildings reveal little or nothing about Yugoslav everyday life. Shifts prompted by the liberalization of Yugoslav society, events such as the beginnings of Yugoslav local television broadcasting in the early 1950s, the opening of Yugoslav borders and increased international travel in 1960s, popular films, books, magazines or music trends could not easily be gleaned through 'First Line' artistic outputs.

It was precisely such everyday events that the ‘Pop Reactions’ artists sought to engage with in their work, challenging the dominant artistic conventions both on the level of style and content. For the artists whose work I have characterized as belonging to ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’ – including, but not exclusively: Dušan Otašević, Dragos Kalajić, Olja Ivanjicki in Belgrade, and Lojze Logar, Metka Krašovec, Zmago Jeraj, Boris Jesih in Ljubljana, the engagement with Pop Art provided a language with which to contest the conventions taught in art schools at the time that they were starting their careers (late 1950s and early 1960s).

The core characteristic of the work of Yugoslav Pop Reactions artists is that their practice remained within the parameters of what could be termed the existing art system and their resistance occurred on the level of challenging the taught conventions in painting and sculpture through the use of new techniques and materials. The system itself was not being put into question by these artists, only *the way* things were being done within it. The core difference between ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’ and ‘Yugoslav Countercultural Pop’ artists (which I will discuss in the last section of this chapter) lay primarily in the *raison d’être* of the artwork and less in their aesthetic and formal qualities.

Pop Reactions artists did indeed bring an element of innovation into the Yugoslav art environment. Their compositions, the introduction of figuration, non-art materials, solid flat surfaces and blocks of colour (as will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter), radically departed from what was deemed acceptable by local academics and critics in art at the time, challenging conventions within the field. Their work was radically different to the lyrical abstraction generation that preceded them (although Serbian surrealism, and the work of the Medijala group, discussed in the next chapter, provided a ‘bridge’ towards figuration). In an interview I conducted with Ješa Denegri, he vividly described the fatigue with academic conventions and the shift towards a new, fresh urban approach brought about by a younger generation of artists:

How was an artist ‘created’ at that time? Someone who was deemed to be talented in high school would be told by their teacher to ‘go and try it out’ if they were not suitable for this and that. [not

suitable for academic subjects – L.D.] They would be sent to the [Art] Academy where they were ‘drilled’ [taught in a programmatic way – L. D.] and they would recall their childhood memories, and would seek to put those forward [in their work]. After a while this became so tiresome, that it made you sick of art, sick of everything. And there was a lot of this [kind of work], entire generations of significant Serbian artists.[...].

Urban Belgrade ‘kids’ did not gravitate towards art. Either they saw themselves in professions like film (such as Makavejev, or Pavlovic), or they went into other professions – doctors, economists. Becoming artists, bohemians– that did not appeal ¹⁸².

But it then transpired that a few young people [from Belgrade], with their urban approach were precisely the ones to move things forward. [In their work] there were no memories, as [Dušan] Otašević said ‘I don’t have my own internal world, I have the world around me.’ The older generation would bring in their childhood, they would paint the shacks they were born in...there was so much of that. Of course this kind of art had its following too, where one focused on authenticity, on the idea of ‘home’, but after the terrain was shaken up a bit, it became apparent that globally, art did not function in this way. This form of nostalgia, painting preoccupied with childhood memories – who cared about that, in a dynamic city of almost a million people?¹⁸³

Denegri’s description not only emphasized the moment at the beginning of the 1960s, in which the internationalization and introduction of Western media in Yugoslavia brought in new influences from abroad, (through foreign films, popular magazines, television programmes and rock music, as discussed in Chapter Two), but also pointed to the socioeconomic, and consequently, cultural, differences between urban and rural areas. Denegri claimed that the

¹⁸² Denegri is here referring to Dušan Makavejev and Zika Pavlovic, who both went on to become well-known film-makers associated with Black Wave of Yugoslav cinema.

¹⁸³ Ješa Denegri quoting Dušan Otašević, from ‘An Interview with Ješa Denegri’ by Lina Džuverović, Porec, Croatia, 26 July 2014.

interests of young artists began to shift from their childhood experiences, to their present environment, seeking more appropriate and dynamic reflections of the fast-changing world around them. The focus on forms of daily life filled with media, advertising, movie-going and simply walking down a fashionable, main street, was a rather specific urban phenomenon. Denegri's statement also pointed to the shift in the status of art, and the gulf between the internationally-minded youth of the capital city, Belgrade (just like other major cities in the country), in touch with global trends communicated through pop culture and media; and the provinces, still dwelling on the past, lacking the modernization that urban centres had enjoyed, in terms of efficiency and comfort of domestic life, rhythm of life, patterns of socialising and ease of access to entertainment and media.¹⁸⁴

The dynamism of the modern urban landscape, news and the refusal to see the space of art as separate from daily life was central to 'Pop Reactions' artists. In the work of Dušan Otašević, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the resistance was located in the refusal to adopt the language and exclusivity of academic painting, rebelling by using household paint on wood, and in his stylistic treatment of every day objects, embracing the language of craft, rather than fine art. Similarly, in the work of the Slovenian artist Lojze Logar, for instance, the depiction of television screens, actors, Coca-Cola bottles, suggestive sexual silhouettes fetishizing female bodies, veered far from that which was revered and accepted in the early 1960s. But neither of these artists, nor other 'Pop Reactions' artists used this as the opportunity to pose the question of the role of art in Yugoslavia, or attempt to address the structural inequalities of the Yugoslav art system.

8. Continuing the 'The Alternative Route' – Countercultural Pop

¹⁸⁴ For further information about the discrepancies between urban and rural life, see: Puljiz, Vlado, *Agrarni eksodus i suprotnosti selo-grad; Sociologija sela* / [glavni i odgovorni urednik Vlado Puljiz], *God.* 10(1972), No. 1-2 (35-36), str. 45-53, (Zagreb : Institut za ekonomiku poljoprivrede i sociologiju sela Poljoprivrednog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1972).

By contrast to the stylistic interventions of Yugoslav ‘Pop Reactions’ artists, ‘Countercultural Pop’ artists’ work put the entire art system into question, in a quest for a different, more democratic model for art in society. ‘Countercultural Pop’ is best described as a strand of conceptual art (or Susovski’s ‘New Art Practice’), which used, as I will show, popular culture as material to interrogate social relations. Yugoslav ‘Countercultural Pop’ in many cases also shared characteristics with what would go on to become known as institutional critique, as often its investigations centered on questions of inclusion and access. Artists working in this way, whose work I cover in chapter six and seven, include Sanja Iveković, the group OHO, Braco Dimitrijević and the associated collaborative project Penzioner Tihomir Šimičić (in collaboration with Goran Trbuljak), Bogdanka Poznanović, Katalin Ladik, Mladen Stilinović and to an extent Boris Bucan, Tomislav Gotovac (although these two artists were less focused on social relations than some of the others artists above), as well as a host of film-makers associated with New Yugoslav Cinema, also known as Black Wave including Lazar Stojanović and Dušan Makavejev. Rather than being specifically preoccupied with the effects of consumerism which was a present and rapidly developing, but not an urgent concern in the country, Yugoslav ‘Countercultural Pop’ artists were more interested in addressing the value of art in society, exploring art’s potential role in Yugoslav socialism and putting under pressure the unconvincing and alienated system of socialist modernism, which had become the dominant aesthetic representation associated with Yugoslavia.

The slight generational difference between the ‘Pop Reactions’ artists and ‘Countercultural Pop’ artists played a significant role in their differing approaches, and according to curators active at the time (based on my interviews with Dunja Blažević, Ješa Denegri and Bojana Pejić), there was little crossover or interaction between the two.¹⁸⁵ ‘Pop Reactions’ artists (in Belgrade) in 1960s found visibility around the gallery of Dom Omladine

¹⁸⁵ In the interviews I conducted with Denegri, Pejić and Blažević, who were all active as curators in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Belgrade, each of them spoke about different communities forming around The House of Youth, and the Student Cultural Centre. Interviews: Dunja Blažević, 28 November 2014, Belgrade; Ješa Denegri, 20 February 2013, Belgrade and 26 July 2014, Porec, Bojana Pejić, 12 February 2014, Berlin.

(House of Youth)¹⁸⁶ – which is where the first Pop Art exhibition took place¹⁸⁷ – and were supported and promoted by the curators and writers Irina Subotic and Djordje Kadijević.¹⁸⁸ The slightly younger generation, Yugoslav ‘Countercultural Pop’ artists, found their home, from 1971 onwards, at Belgrade’s newly opened Student Cultural Centre – whose inception will be discussed below – a space which worked in close collaboration with fellow organisations in Ljubljana (SKUC) and Zagreb (Galerija SC). In Belgrade, a close-knit community was formed around the Student Cultural Centre visual arts programme at the time run by the team of Dunja Blažević, Biljana Tomić and Bojana Pejić who during this period held a range of positions at the gallery.¹⁸⁹

In my conversation with Bojana Pejić, at the time a staff member of Belgrade’s SKC, and Ješa Denegri, both curators referred to the significance of different gathering points in the city. Pejić explained: ‘Each institution had a time of living, and 1960s in Belgrade was the time of the Gallery of the House of Youth (Dom Omladine), with Nova Figuracija. [...] In 70s it was conceptual art–performance, post object art– what we did SKC in 70s.’¹⁹⁰ Pejić, speaking from the perspective of communities who were, in 1971 beginning to gather in the gallery of the Student Cultural Centre, went on to describe the sharp ideological divide between the two: ‘We hated– I cannot say we– but I hated

¹⁸⁶ House of Youth (sometimes referred to as Belgrade Youth Center), in central Belgrade was opened in 1964, as a space funded by the Secretariat of Culture of the Assembly of the City of Belgrade. Activities include music, film, theatre, visual arts and new media, an educational programme as well as art and science programming. The House of Youth includes a gallery, a concert hall, an ‘Americana’ hall, a nightclub and an ‘American Corner’.

¹⁸⁷ The first exhibition, discussed at length in the next chapter was New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle in 1966.

¹⁸⁸ Irina Subotić was curator at The Museum of Modern Art, Belgrade (1965-1978) and Djordje Kadijević was an independent curator and art critic writing for NIN, Umetnost amongst others, as well as making films.

¹⁸⁹ The Student Cultural Centre was founded in 1968 by the Belgrade University and the University Board of Student Alliance of Belgrade. Its initial mandate was to provide cultural communication for students of Belgrade University. SKC officially opened to the public on 3 April 1971, and was organised as a cultural centre with a range of departments: a gallery, a music programme, a classical music programme, a film programme, a programme of talks and debates, a reading room/library and at a later date a separate gallery aimed at attracting a profit from the sale of artists’ prints and postcards (SKC also opened its own screen-printing workshop). One of the most significant annual events were the ‘April Meetings’ held on the occasion of April 4 - ‘Students Day’. April Meetings attracted a large international roster of cultural figures and took place each year between 1972 and 1977.

¹⁹⁰ From ‘An Interview with Bojana Pejić’, Berlin, 12 February 2014.

everything figurative. We found them too bourgeois, too official. I don't know how Dusko [Dušan Otašević] feels about this, but he was a Belgrade darling.'

Ješa Denegri had similar views on the divergent approaches taken by the two communities of young artists in the city: 'These were two distinct waves, two generations that barely crossed over. Otašević, up to a point [crossed between the two – L.D]. Kalajić and Reljić, not only were they a different generation [to the artists who gathered around SKC] but they were explicitly against what was taking place at the Student Cultural Centre– decidedly against. Between those two complexes of Serbian art, there was not– except for Otašević who as a person was correct, non-conflictual, a Belgrade 'boy'– much in common. On the other hand – the early Otašević, the work with matches¹⁹¹ in the foreground, that appealed to the conceptualists. It was very simple, it was not narrative [...] One could draw a personal connection there, more of an interpersonal tolerance, even though Otašević was not interested in what the conceptualists were doing.'¹⁹²

The difference in approach between these two generations coincided with a number of global as well as local factors which significantly affected the outlook of 'Countercultural Pop' artists. Countercultural pop artists were '*sezdesetosmasi*' – the Serbo-Croat term for the 1968 generation. Most of them were in their early twenties in 1968, and were fully immersed in the global wave of countercultural thinking, and student protests. Protests which took place in the summer of 1968 were a significant political event in Yugoslavia, with lasting and tangible consequences for the country, and in particular for cultural workers, as will be discussed below. The first mass protests since the second Second World War took place across Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb and Ljubljana. The Belgrade protests were the most vigorous and lasted seven days from 2 July 1968, after a group of students living in Belgrade's Studentski Grad (student city residence halls) were denied entry into a concert organised for workers taking part in a Omladinske radne akcije (ORA / Youth Work Action) for a new development in New Belgrade.

¹⁹¹ Here Denegri is referring to Dušan Otašević's work 'Obelisk' (Obelisk), 1965 coloured wood, plaster, 200x7x7 cm which is an oversized, two metre tall sculpture of a match. Otašević also took part in the exhibiton 'Drangulirijum' at the Student Cultural Centre in 1971.

¹⁹² From 'An Interview with Ješa Denegri' by Lina Džuverović, Porec, Croatia, 26 July 2014.

The seven-day strike started as the result of police violence and, after the police prohibited all public gatherings, students held a series of meetings at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University. Apart from the students, a number of public intellectuals were vocal in the protests. They included the filmmaker Dušan Makavejev, stage actor Stevo Žigon, poet Desanka Maksimović as well as a large number of university professors, many of whom were associated with the *Praxis* journal (some of whom worked at the faculty of Philosophy). The students criticised economic reforms which had caused a high level of unemployment and economic migration to Germany and other European countries (the phenomenon of *gastarbeiter*, which will be discussed in Chapter 6).

The initial government response to the protests was positive. In a televised broadcast Tito famously exclaimed that the students were right and agreed to a number of their conditions, including the creation of Student Cultural Centres as public spaces for culture for all students, as expanded on below. However, in the following years, a number of those whose names were associated with the protests lost their jobs and were subject to censorship.¹⁹³

The emergence of countercultures internationally, ‘sympiotically evolved with the global, essential, defining and ubiquitous character of American political and economic influences’¹⁹⁴ as described by Raj Chandarlapaty in writing about the Beat generation. Yugoslav people’s increased travel possibilities and easy access to international information (for instance SKC reading room stocked most important international art magazines, and the annual April meetings brought internationally renowned figures such as artists Daniel Buren (1972), Joseph Beuys (1974), film-maker Lutz Becker (1975), critics and curators including the Roman curator and critic Achille Bonito Oliva (1972) and the Milano-based critic Tommaso Trini).¹⁹⁵ Frequent international

¹⁹³ Source: Issue 1/2 (1969) of the journal *Praxis*, entitled ‘June 1968 – Documents’.

¹⁹⁴ Raj Chandarlapaty, *Modern American Literature: New Approaches: Beat Generation and Counterculture : Paul Bowles, William S. Burroughs, Jack Kerouac*, (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2009). ProQuest ebrary. Web. 28 November 2016. p. 4.

¹⁹⁵ Student Cultural Centre activities were one amongst several other annual international festivals in the city. BITEF (Belgrade International Theatre Festival), founded in 1972. It also had a visual arts

exchanges meant that the Yugoslav countercultural generation shared preoccupations with their counterparts from other developed countries: the protest against the Vietnam war, the concern over the nuclear threat and over American global dominance, the beginnings of environmental concerns and the proliferation of consumerism. These pressing global concerns were combined with a growing dissatisfaction at home, characterised by a loss of faith in Yugoslavia's political elite, who were increasingly moving away from the country's founding principles.

These artists, and the founding mission of the Student Cultural Centre discussed below, were operating in the lineage of the historical avant-garde in the region, continuing down the path that Denegri named 'the Alternative Route'. The 'alternative route' practices operated, as Denegri put it, 'in direct opposition to, and sometimes in passive avoidance of, the phenomena that constitute the new mainstream of Yugoslav postwar art...'.¹⁹⁶ It was a route taken by artists whose practices sought to 'resist or at least defy' the dominant aesthetics of socialist modernism.¹⁹⁷ These were artists whose work did not correspond to, or wish to endorse, the rhetoric of the state sponsored version of modernism. Laying out its defining characteristics, Denegri identified the characteristics of the historical avant-garde as 'making itself heard through manifestos, sharp opposition to traditional local models of culture, passionate argumentation defending its viewpoints, to the point of being stubborn, believing that artistic action can contribute to social change in its envisaging of an idealistic, Utopian, rather than politically programmatic 'world revolution'.¹⁹⁸

The 'alternative route' Denegri claimed, developed independently, in parallel, outside of institutional infrastructures and academies, taking place in alternative spaces, which were often social environments, not specifically

branch entitled 'Likovni Bitef' (Fine Art Bitef), which took place across the avant-garde theatre space Atelje 212 (Atelier 212) and SKC also brought visual artists to Belgrade and presented exhibitions.

¹⁹⁶ Ješa Denegri, 'Radical Views on the Yugoslav Art Scene, 1950 - 1970', p. 177, in Djurić and Šuvaković, *Impossible Histories*, p. 199.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 199

¹⁹⁸ Ješa Denegri, *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju, - Za Novu Umetnost Sedamdesetih*, (Novi Sad: Edicija Sudac, 2007), 'Teze za Drugu Liniju', p. 103.

venues dedicated to art.¹⁹⁹ In many cases activities took the form of groups or collectives who were informed by, and frequently in contact with protagonists of other European avant-garde movements (for instance the Serbian magazine *Zenit* (1921) who collaborated with both the Futurists and Russian Constructivists).

Another trait of the ‘alternative route’ was the notion of artistic behavior (as opposed to the idea of the art object being entirely separate from the artist), shifting the focus from the art object to the artist as subject. Artists working outside of the mainstream often addressed the audience in the first person, through performance, gallery and street actions, and once the technology became available, also through the use of new reproductive media – photography, film and video²⁰⁰. Denegri went on to explain that the shifts towards the all encompassing artistic behavior and the direct address were ‘the most apparent outward signs of the shift in the understanding of the very nature of art, one of the most radical shifts that the post-war period has seen’.²⁰¹

The non-conformist ‘alternative route’ was continued by ‘New Art Practice’ artists of the 1970s, sharing many characteristics with the historical avant-garde of the region, which began on the Yugoslav territory with the publication of the magazine *Zenit* in 1921²⁰² and the Zagreb-based art publications *Dada Tank* and *Dada Jazz* (1922)²⁰³, which included international contributors such

¹⁹⁹ Here I am referring to sites that the avant-garde historically occupies, which are rarely associated with official spaces for culture. These might include cafes, apartment, bars. In the case of Yugoslavia, the sites of ‘second line’ practices occupied included magazines, cafes where performances occurred, the street, artist-run spaces (such as in the case of ‘Podroom’ in Zagreb in 1979). The exception were the Student Cultural Centres, which were dedicated spaces for culture, but even in this case, they were aimed at all students, not only art students, and therefore were not discrete spaces separating art from other spheres of life. SKC buildings, aside from galleries housed cafes, screening spaces and (in some cases) production spaces as well as spaces for talks and debates.

²⁰⁰ See Denegri, *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju*, p. 105.

²⁰¹ Ibid

²⁰² *Zenit*, published by poet and artist Ljubomir Micic between 1921 and 1926, initially in Zagreb (up to 1923) and then Belgrade, was the physical embodiment of Micic’s and collaborators’ radical anti-establishment ideas, defined by Micic as ‘abstract metacosmic expressionism’. In line with other European avant-garde movements at the time, Zenitism was anti-war, anti-bourgeois and anti-nationalist, rejecting of all forms of traditionalism in culture and in art. Zenitism took many forms including graphic design, poetry, typography but also film, architecture and music. Active internationally, Micic was in close contact with the founder of the Tomasso Marinetti as well as Russian Constructivists.

²⁰³ *Dada Tank* and *Dada Jazz* were initiated in 1922 by the Zagreb, and then Prague-based poet, author, journalist, filmmaker Dragan Aleksic, who had been contributing to *Zenit* but parted ways with Micic, which led to the founding of his own Dada magazine.

as Tristan Tzara, Kurt Schwitters and Richard Hulsenbeck, and used dada typography. Another group in this period was the group 'Zemlja' in Croatia, a socially-engaged leftist group of artists and architects, soon to be prosecuted for their outward left-leaning political stance²⁰⁴. In Slovenia, the artist Avgust Černigoj, who studied at the Bauhaus in Weimar in 1924, contributed most significantly to avant-garde practices in the region.²⁰⁵

Continuous but uneven and frequently interrupted (by war or socio-economic circumstances affecting its actors), the 'alternative route' centred on informal communities of a small number of artists, often operating 'under the radar'. The lineage continued in 1930s via the surrealist movement which was brought together in the Belgrade-based magazines *Nemoguće* (Impossible) and *Nadrealizam danas i ovde* (Surrealism today and here) (1931 – 1932), featuring automatic drawings collages, assemblages, photographs as well as leftist political discourse.²⁰⁶

The Second World War ensued, bringing forth a new social as well as artistic environment and a new conception of the avant-garde. Denegri claims that 'orientations in the field of art were not as strongly polarized anymore, leading to a gradual emergence of conditions for a parallel developments of many individual choices, and their overall equality'²⁰⁷ The line further continued

²⁰⁴ The Group 'Zemlja' (which translates as both the Earth and country) was an artists' group which operated between 1929 and 1935 when it was banned by the police. The group was formed as a result of organized and articulated programme of group members and sympathizers of leftist orientation - painters, sculptors and architects. It was the first artists' group of its kind in Croatia, founded as a reaction to social events in the world and the country (the assassination of Croatian politician and the founder of the Croatian People's Peasant Party Stjepan Radic, and the onset of the global economic crisis, for example). In response to political and economic turbulence, inspired by the Futurists, Constructivists, Dada and Bauhaus, the artists set up their own avant-garde group influenced by the Bauhaus, given the strong links with German territory. They were particularly influenced by painter George Grosz, who was loved by the prominent Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža who had a major indirect impact on the Group Zemlja. Despite the group's stylistic diversity, the common thread was Group Zemlja's sensitivity to social problems and their critique of the bourgeois social order, which they hoped would lead to a revolution.

²⁰⁵ Černigoj's work spanned collage, photomontage, photography, scenography and costume design as well as and graphic design. He was also a theoretician and educator, responsible for bringing constructivist ideas into the country.

²⁰⁶ See the discussion of the lineage of 'alternative route' practices in Ješa Denegri, *Razlozi Za Drugu Liniju' Za Novu Umetnost Sedamdesetih*, (*Reasons for the Alternative Route, For The New Art of the Seventies*), (Novi Sad: Edicija Sudac, 2007), p. 103.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 104.

with the Zagreb-based groups Exat 51²⁰⁸ and Gorgona,²⁰⁹ only to be picked up by the ‘New Art Practice’ artists featured in Susovski’s 1977 exhibition.²¹⁰ As I point out above, Denegri’s delineation provides a useful overarching mapping of Yugoslav practices without necessarily claiming a clear-cut division between the practices. The delineation works best, to turn to a spatial metaphor often used by art historians, as a constellation of practices which shared an ethos and ways of working, rather than a linear and connected thread.

9. Yugoslav Student Protests of 1968 and the creation of Student Cultural Centres – the Home of Countercultural Pop

During the student protests in Yugoslavia’s larger cities in the summer of 1968, one of the key reasons for protester dissatisfaction was the League of Communists’ (the name for the Communist Party since 1952) failure to embrace culture as a central element in the creation of socialism – relegating it instead to an illustrative role, endorsing the specific visual language of socialist modernism and failing to recognise the potential of cultural life as an arena for furthering socialist goals. Politically engaged students, including those studying at the art academies, felt sidelined and misunderstood. As an example of their dissatisfaction, a summary from the applied arts academy’s student’s

²⁰⁸ EXAT 51, short for Eksperimentalni atelje (Experimental Atelier) was a Zagreb-based group of artists, designers, architects and filmmakers active between 1950 and 1956. Members included architects, designers and artists Bernardo Bernardi, Zdravko Bregovac, Ivan Picelj, Zvonimir Radić, stage Božidar Rašica, Vjenceslav Richter, Aleksandar Srnec, Vladimir Zarahović, and Vladimir Kristl.

²⁰⁹ Gorgona was formed in 1959 by Dimitrije Bašičević-Mangelos, Miljenko Horvat, Marijan Jevšovar, Julije Knifer, Ivan Kožarić, Matko Meštrović, Radoslav Putar, Đuro Seder, Josip Vaništa. This all-male gathering of artists operated in Zagreb until 1966 and had three main outputs: an eponymous ‘anti- magazine’ (1961 - 1966), exhibitions held at the ‘studio G’ gallery in Zagreb and a series of proposals between by Gorgona members of different concepts and forms of artistic communication – the ‘Gorgona artistic behaviour’. Collaborators on the magazine included Victor Vasarely, Dieter Roth and Gorgona were also in conversation with Lucio Fontana, Robert Rauschenberg, Piero Manzoni, and Enzo Mari but those issues remained unrealised (the correspondence remains). Sources: Moma POST website: (<http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/176-gorgona-group-now-and-then>) and Museum of the Avant Garde, Collection Marinko Sudac website (<<http://www.avantgarde-museum.com/en/museum/collection/authors/gorgona-pe4511/>>). Both last accessed 2 December 2016.

²¹⁰ Interestingly, ‘New Art Practice’ artists were not aware of Gorgona’s activities, as a result of Gorgona’s elusiveness and lack of interest in promoting their activities. The learned of Gorgona retrospectively through Susovski’s New Art Practice exhibition in 197 and the curator Nena Dimitrijević’s Gorgona retrospective in 1977, at Zagreb’s Museum of Contemporary Art. Source: Nena Dimitrijević, ‘Conceptual Art and Times of Transition, Gorgona’, in Laura Hoptman and Tomas Pospisyl, Eds, *Primary Documents – A Sourcebook for Eastern and Central European Art since 1950s*, (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 2002), p. 124.

assembly, held in Belgrade on 6 June 1968, read: ‘We condemn all insinuations that seek to discredit us, separate us from the worker, and portray us as anti-socialist elements. We have always been, and remain today, the mobilising force of socialist development, and we demand to be trusted as our word is the word of progress.’²¹¹

It was such sentiments that led the 1968 demonstrators to demand spaces for culture that would be accessible to all. This resulted in the creation of Student Cultural Centres in Yugoslavia’s larger cities (Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana) which were multidisciplinary cultural organisations, which came with secure infrastructural funding and were under the auspices of the cities’ respective Universities.²¹² This process succeeded in galvanising a generation of cultural workers who gathered in these centres, fuelled by a genuine belief in the emancipatory potential of art and culture as active sites of social change. Curator and art historian Bojana Piškur has located the origins of the emancipatory potential of the cultural sphere back to the People’s Liberation Struggle (PLS) of the Second World War, explaining that one of PLS’s achievements was to eliminate a discrete cultural sphere separate from working people, traditionally a marker of class, establishing instead the cultural sphere as a site of political emancipation. Partisan art and poetry which were an integral part of life in the trenches during the People’s Liberation Struggle, and which functioned as sites of political action, not its illustration, now appeared as long-gone ghosts in the shadow of the country’s dominant monumental aesthetics of socialist modernism.²¹³

Communities of artists who gathered at Student Cultural Centres were keen to test out the emancipatory potential of the cultural sphere through community-

²¹¹ Issue 1/2 (1969) of the journal *Praxis*, entitled ‘June 1968 – Documents’, was dedicated to a comprehensive report of the 1968 protests which were held across Yugoslavia. The issue covered all events through collated correspondence exchanged between the students and various regulatory structures that they addressed in their demands. For a full archive of *Praxis* and associated publications, see <http://www.praxis-arhiva.net/>, last accessed 27 november 2015.

²¹² Unlike galleries or concert halls, student cultural centres were not only exhibition, screening and music spaces, but also production and discourse hubs.

²¹³ For a detailed analysis of the role and nature of Partisan art, see Miklavž Komelj, ‘How To Think Partisan art’, in Zorana Dojić and Jelena Vesić (eds.), *Political Practices of Post-Yugoslav Art* (Belgrade: Prelom kolektiv, 2009), pp. 36–49.

building activities. Belgrade's SKC, for instance, operated as an ongoing 'large public workshop in which public and artists alternated, an arena in which the boundary between the artists and their public was almost erased'²¹⁴

The promise of culture as a catalyst in the creation of a cultural community of cultured persons, as articulated in Praxis some six years earlier, whose lives are fundamentally shaped by the 'creative co-experiencing' of cultural goods draws its origins from the promises of the role of culture during partisan resistance during the Second World War.

I propose that the two forms of Yugoslav Pop stood at opposing ends of the spectrum as reactions to the dissipation of the founding principles of Yugoslavia. – one produced artworks by individual authors, embracing Pop aesthetics, while the other aligned itself with the global left, the hippy movement and the 1968 protests to challenge individual authorship, art as object, and specifically in the case of Yugoslavia – the erosion of the social sphere embodied in the category of '*drustvena svojina*' – 'social property'. The next two chapters will provide examples of works by several artists in each of the two categories, as a way of entering a deeper analysis of the specificities of Yugoslav Pop.

²¹⁴ Bojan Bugracic, 'One Working Day at SKC (and like that for fifteen years)', Introductory text for the programme publication, organized to commemorate fifteen years of the Student Cultural Centre, April 1986.

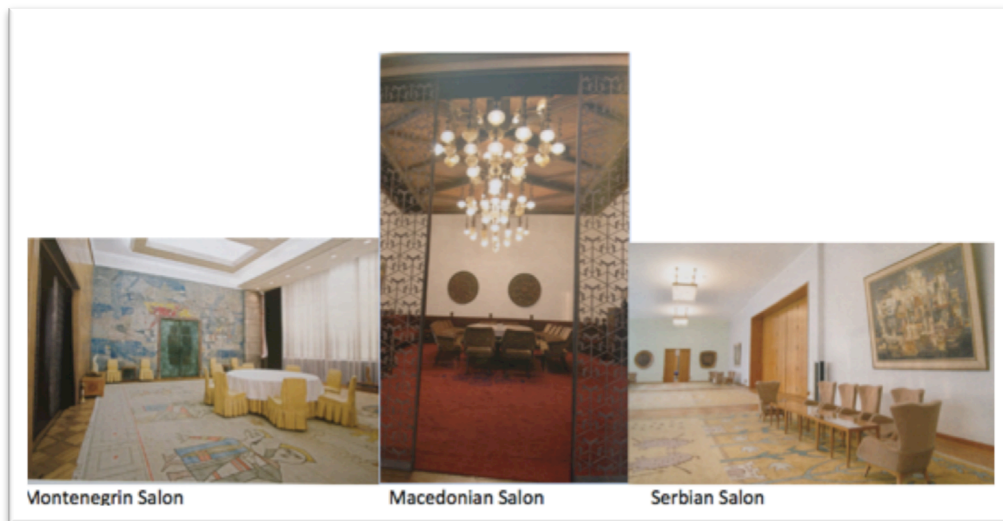
10. Chapter 4 Illustrations



Figure 1.

Top: Tjentište, a memorial site for the battle of Sutjeska (15 May- 15. June 1943) officially opened in 1974, designed and built by the architect Ranko Radović. Tjentište is located in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Bottom: Petrova Gora, Monument to the uprising of the people of Kordun and Banija (also known as Petrova Gora Monument) is a World War II monument built on Petrovac, the highest peak of Petrova Gora. Author of the monument is the sculptor Vojin Bakić, who won the public competition held in 1970. The construction of the monument was completed in 1981.



SIV Building Interior, Belgrade



SIV Building Exterior, Belgrade



The Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also known as the 'SIV' building (its new name is 'The Palace of Serbia'), New Belgrade.
The Yugoslav Hall

Figure 2.

Top: SIV Building Interior, Belgrade

Middle: SIV Building Exterior, Belgrade

Bottom: The Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also known as the 'SIV' building (its new name is 'The Palace of Serbia'), New Belgrade. The Yugoslav Hall

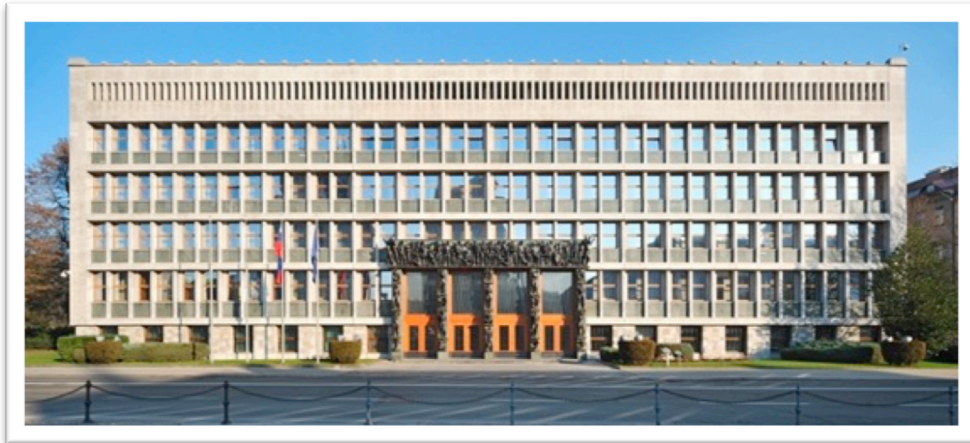


Figure 3.

The People's Assembly Building of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana,
Architect: Vinko Glanz

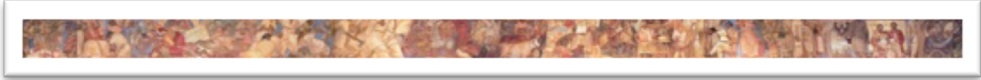




Figure 4.

Slavko Pengov – ‘Zgodovina Slovencev’ Fresco, 1958, complete fresco and three details and the fresco in situ.



Figure 5.

Gabrijel Stupica, *By the Ashes II*, from the series resistance, (1962), gouache.

Stupica's drawings in the 'Resistance' series are a continuation of his triptych sketch for the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia in 1957, which was rejected.

Chapter 5 – Yugoslav Pop Reactions

1. Introduction

Yugoslavia of the early 1960s was a dynamic environment witnessing rapid transformations on many fronts, from the country's economy and culture, to its political orientation, which propagated the politics of non-alignment and solidarity with developing countries, while also retaining good diplomatic relations with both USSR and the West. Belgrade proudly hosted the first Non-aligned Movement summit in 1961²¹⁵ in its grand newly built Federal Executive Council building located in the equally new part of the city called New Belgrade – the pinnacle of Yugoslav modernist architecture.²¹⁶ As discussed in previous chapters, political, economic and cultural shifts could be felt in the daily lives of ordinary citizens– the living standard increased, international travel and information became available to a larger number of people. In terms of culture, international connections were rapidly being made. In 1961 Yugoslavia was the first socialist country to take part in the Eurovision Song Contest, and in May of the same year the first music biennale in Zagreb took place which would over the coming years go on to host figures like John Cage and Luciano Berio, becoming one of the key meeting points of musicians from the East and West. This was closely followed by the founding of GEFF (Genre Experimental Film Festival) which was established in Zagreb and held biennially from 1963, with the last iteration in 1970. As previously discussed, by the early 1960s Yugoslavia was a key stop on the international exhibition circuit, hosting major touring exhibitions, but also participating in the Venice Biennial (since 1950) with its own roster of artists. International travel, often facilitated by scholarships, grants and foreign foundations (for instance the

²¹⁵ The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded in Belgrade by Third World leaders such as India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser and Indonesia's Achmad Sukarno, under the aegis of Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito, to try to avoid alignment with either the United States or the Soviet Union.

²¹⁶ The Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia²¹⁶ (also known as the 'SIV' building, an acronym for Savezno Izvršno Veće - Federal Executive Council) was built in Belgrade between 1947 and 1962, located in New Belgrade.

Ford Foundation, the Fulbright Foundation, DAAD), available to cultural workers meant that by the early 1960s Yugoslavs were increasingly immersed in global cultural trends.

These new perspectives combined with a fatigue with the socialist modernist instrumentalisation of art, which was felt amongst many young artists, led to forms of resistance inspiring the adoption of new artistic approaches in the early 1960s. While Western influences (in particularly American ones) received ambivalent reactions in Yugoslav public debates, often being associated with decadence and consumer excess (as will be discussed further on in this chapter), a number of young artists, some still students, took inspiration from both European figuration, and American and British Pop with its brash, bold style, as a way of testing new approaches to the pictorial space and enthusiastically experimenting with the aesthetics of the urban everyday. Pop's playful and novel use of plastics, gloss paint, flat surfaces, the focus on repetition and mechanization made for a stark contrast to the conservative environment and aesthetics of socialist aestheticism described by the Serbian art critic Lazar Trifunovic²¹⁷ as 'the type of art that suited this politicized and highly vain society of the 1960s [...] one that refrained from upsetting it or posing any enigmatic or 'awkward' questions'.²¹⁸ Critics of this dominant artistic expression saw it as entrenched in the political system that was supporting it, and embracing existentialist ideas, were critical of socialist modernism for failing to engage with society. Trifunovic's critique of socialist aestheticism as artistically stagnant, having little contact with social reality, and completely disengaged²¹⁹ from the current and pressing issues in the world was echoed by a younger generation of artists born between 1930 and 1945, and graduating from art academies in mid to late 1960s.

²¹⁷ Trifunovic was a professor of art history at Belgrade University's Faculty of Philosophy, and was a vocal critic of Yugoslav modernism, and a champion of a 'newer generation' of Informel.

²¹⁸ Lazar Trifunovic as quoted (from 'Informel in Belgrade' exhibition catalogue, Belgrade Cvijeta Zuzoric Pavilion, 1982) by Ješa Denegri 'Inside or Outside 'Socialist Modernism' – Radical Views on the Yugoslav Art Scene, 1950 – 1970', in Djurić and Šuvaković, *Impossible Histories*. p. 176.

²¹⁹ Further discussion of socialist aestheticism and Art Informel as a response to it, can be found in the chapter on the painter Mića Popović 'The Suicide and Rebirth of the Painting; Mića Popović 1959 – 1974', in Nick Miller, *The Nonconformists Culture, Politics, and Nationalism in a Serbian Intellectual Circle, 1944–1991*, Central European University Press, 2007,

The existentialism and exploration of depths of the human experience aligned with the thinking that 'man needs to find himself again and to understand that nothing can save him from himself',²²⁰ as outlined by Jean Paul Sartre, still underpinned the approach of socialist modernist art. This was beginning to give way to new ways of thinking and an enthusiasm for art and urban life flowing into one another, opening up to novel communication forms, as embodied by Marshall McLuhan's famous statement, the 'medium being the message'.

But these new directions that young artists yearned to explore did not suit the educational mainstream, which had comfortably embraced the aesthetics of socialist modernism. For instance, as explained by Branislav Dimitrijević in his discussion of the art education system of the 1960s, the dictum that the same colour value must not be used twice in one painting (which dates back to the end of the nineteenth century and the work of impressionist artists such as Pierre Bonnard or Édouard Vuillard) was still observed at Yugoslav academies.²²¹ Artists were taught that they must not, under any circumstances, paint in a way that would be reminiscent of painting the flag, with its blocks of uniform, often repeated, colour. Yet Pop's use of repetition, stood in contrast to the aesthetics of deliberately visible 'painterly' brushstrokes, fostered at Yugoslav academies. As articulated by the Slovenian artist Lojze Logar who graduated from the Ljubljana Academy in 1968, going on to study graphics, artists of his generation were ready for change: 'us younger ones, we were tired of lyrical abstraction and the tendency towards the Paris School [...] we started to turn towards America, the spirit of Pop Art',²²² continuing to explain that even the idea of a uniform flat surface in painting was in itself a form of rebellion at that point: 'If we used something like a clean surface, this was already questionable.'²²³ Pop provided a new approach and a new tone, one that was loud, bold, often humourous and spoke of the present moment.

²²⁰ Jean Paul Sartre 'Essays in Existentialism' (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1965)

²²¹ For a discussion of the conservatism of the Belgrade academy, based on the account of the artist Dušan Otašević, see Branislav Dimitrijević, *Utopijski Konzumerizam : Nastanak I Protivrečnosti Potrošačke Kulture U Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1950-1970)*, Doctoral Dissertation, Beograd, 2011; Chapter VI: 'Moderna Umetnost Izmedju Kulturne Politike i Potrošačkog Mizanscena', p. 258.

²²² By saying 'we' Logar is referring to his fellow students: Metka Krašovec, Zmago Jeraj, Kostja Gatnik, as he explained in response to the question of who he meant by 'we'.

²²³ An interview with Lojze Logar, 17 June 2014, Lina Džuverović, translation from Serbian is my own.

This chapter examines the key characteristics of Yugoslav Pop Reactions, analysing the work of a number of its key protagonists, as well as its critical reception. The discussion in this chapter returns to the question posed in the first chapter of this thesis examining the extent to which ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’ were a form of political practice, engaging with events at home, and to what extent it was a local adaptation of international currents and themes. In this chapter I ask whether ‘Yugoslav Pop Reactions’ artists developed an ‘authentic’, local form of Pop Art, or whether their experiments remained on the level of emulating the Western Pop image. The analysis focuses on a number of artists whose work was present in three key exhibitions– the ‘Pop Art’ solo exhibition of Olja Ivanjicki, (1964) noted as Yugoslavia’s first pop art artist, group exhibitions ‘New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle’ (1966) and ‘Expressive Figuration of the Young Ljubljana Circle’ (1968) which all took place in Belgrade, involving groups of artists from both Serbia and Slovenia.

The artists discussed in this chapter are Dušan Otašević (b. 1933), Dragos Kalajić - Drago (b. 1943) and Olja Ivanjicki (b. 1931) whose work (alongside a number of others) was exhibited under the title ‘New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle’ held in Belgrade’s House of Youth (*Dom Omladine*) in 1966. The work of these artists is discussed alongside their Ljubljana counterparts known as ‘*Ekspresivna Figuralika*’ (Expressive Figuration) artists – a term introduced by the curator and critic Aleksander Bassin.²²⁴ These artists include Lojze Logar (1944 - 2014), Metka Krašovec (1941), Zmago Jeraj (1937- 2015) and Boris Jesih (1943).

2. Olja Ivanjicki - The First Yugoslav Pop Artist

On 29 September 1964 arts journalists at Belgrade’s newspapers received an unusual telegram. It read, in Serbo-Croat: ‘I plan to arrive POP please meet me at the Graphic Collective Gallery POP On 1 October 1964, at 7pm STOP Olja

²²⁴ The Slovenian curator Aleksander Bassin introduced the term *ekspresivna figuralika* on the occasion of the exhibition ‘Expressive Figuration of the Ljubljana Circle’, held at Belgrade’s Cultural Centre, Galerija Kulturnog Centra Beograda in 1968, which he curated.

Ivanjicki – flowers are not compulsory.²²⁵ The enigmatic telegram turned out to be an invitation to the opening of an exhibition by Olja Ivanjicki – the first Yugoslav artist to claim that she was making Pop Art. It was sent by the artist herself as a playful gesture taking Pop’s entanglement with media beyond the gallery.

Ivanjicki’s exhibition, held at the ‘Small Gallery’ of Belgrade’s ‘Graphic Collective’ art space, consisted of a series of customised and painted drawers and suitcases filled with found objects assembled by the artist (Figs 1 and 2). On closer inspection the artworks on display were not what one might immediately associate with Pop Art, lacking the cool, brash, bold distancing that characterised American Pop, which was Ivanjicki’s inspiration. Instead, the exhibits, entitled ‘*Twin Drawers*’, ‘*Drawer Packed Before the War*’, ‘*Taxi Suitcase*’ etc., were filled with personal everyday objects, including a used tube of toothpaste, dry bread, war medals, old water pipes packed into drawers and suitcases belonging to the artist. These were objects of personal significance, with references to the artist’s own past, gathered from Ivanjicki’s own home, closer to the tradition of assemblage, than to Pop’s detached and mechanical use of generic consumer material. A child of Russian émigré parents, Ivanjicki lost her mother at the age of four, and grew up in the small Yugoslav town of Pancevo. Ivanjicki’s personal story was not the focus of this exhibition, but merely a catalyst. For Ivanjicki, what was most important at this moment was the association with Pop, and this was the chance to publicly announce that she was now a Pop Artist – a phrase that she kept repeating in newspaper and TV interviews.

In 1962 Ivanjicki was the first Yugoslav artist to obtain a Ford Foundation scholarship, which enabled her to visit and travel around the USA, where she became immersed in Pop Art.²²⁶ Ivanjicki visited a number of locations across

²²⁵ The telegram sent by Ivanjicki was quoted in an interview with the artist published in the *Evening News (Vecernje Novosti)* tabloid newspaper, 29 September 1964 ‘The Destiny of the Exhibition - Solved on the Bus’ (*Sudbina izlozbe - resena u autobusu*), by D Krajinovic.

²²⁶ Ivanjicki was one of many cultural workers who received grants to study abroad. Grants were centrally administered by the government and cultural workers had many opportunities to apply (see interview by the What, How and For Whom curatorial collective with Želimir Koscevic, the Curator of Zagreb’s Student Centre Gallery, in the Newspaper of Galerija Nova, no 18, on the occasion of the project ‘Invisible History of Exhibitions’, December 2008. Other notable grant recipients include Mića Popović who in 1950 obtained a study grant to spend three months in Paris, Zoran Music who

the USA, including New York, New Orleans, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. On her travels she had the opportunity to visit the sculptor Alexander Calder in his house in Connecticut, to see the Hollywood hills, to witness carnival in New Orleans and experience the 'The Century 21 Exposition' at the World Fair in Seattle. Upon her return she commented in a newspaper interview on 'the American way of life', expressing her surprise at the explicit commercial priorities of an exhibition she visited in New York (namely, her realisation that artists' works were arranged according to their value), and observed that 'They say that the contemporary illness of the New York woman is shopping'.²²⁷

By the time of her 1964 exhibition Ivanjicki was already a household name on the Belgrade art scene, with a high profile media presence. Ivanjicki was known for her key role as one of the founders (and the only female one) of the surrealist-inspired artists' group Medijala²²⁸, known for their critical take on 'socialist aestheticism', the Yugoslav programmatic academic style which favoured abstraction. Ivanjicki became a 'Pop persona', attractive to the media for her flamboyant dress style and multidisciplinary outputs.²²⁹ Upon her return from the USA she also started organizing events which she called 'happenings' – a new concept in Yugoslavia (Fig.3 - performance *Spaljivanje Lutke Dvojnice* ('*Burning down of the Doppelganger Doll*') on 31 October 1965) as well as her willingness to use her body as an extension of her work (see Fig.4 – Ivanjicki being painted by the fellow Medijala artist and her life partner, Leonid Sejka).²³⁰ The very fact that Ivanjicki was a rare female artist

had a grant to study Paris, Želimir Koscevic who spent four months in Stockholm's Moderna Museet where the work of the Director Pontus Hultén provided inspiration for his own programming, and artist and museum Director Miodrag B. Protic who spent time in New York's MoMA in 1963, in preparation for opening the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade.

²²⁷ The source for Ivanjicki's observations on her visit to the USA was an interview with the artist, 'Stvarnost Nije Film. Putujemo kroz Amerku s Oljom Ivanjicki' (Reality is Not Film. We Travel Across America with Olja Ivanjicki), *Mladost*, Belgrade, 10 October 1962.

²²⁸ Medijala was formed in 1957 by a group of painters, writers, philosophers, architects and composers. Alongside Sejka other members included Olja Ivanjicki, Miro Glavurtić, Sinisa Vuković, Kosta Bradic, Uros Tošković, Miodrag Dado Djuric, Ljuba Popović, Vladimir Velickovic, Milic Stankovic (Milic od Macve), Milovan Vidak, Svetozar Samurović and Vladan Radovanovic.

²²⁹ By the mid 1950s the aesthetics of socialist modernism became programmatic and closely aligned with the desired image of Yugoslavia's liberal socialism to such an extent that a group of Yugoslav critics pejoratively renamed it 'socialist aestheticism', denoting artistic production entirely at the service of the strategic interests of the state.

²³⁰ Leonid Šejka (1932–1970) was a Serbian painter and architect. He was a founder member of the art group Baltazar, which in November 1957 grew into the group Medijala. Šejka also worked in

in a heavily male-dominated art world also helped draw media attention to her work. But this also ultimately meant that the early declaration of her Pop Art affiliation remained a footnote in what was otherwise an entirely male narrative of Yugoslav Pop, at least as the Belgrade scene was concerned.

The response to Ivanjicki's 1964 Pop Art exhibition was not favourable, attracting a host of negative, mocking reviews, which aligned her work with Western decadence. *Borba (The Struggle)* newspaper – the official newspaper of the League of Communists, reported on Ivanjicki's exhibition with a text entitled 'Pop Art or the Vulgarization of Art',²³¹ which claimed that Pop Art had 'entered Yugoslavia through a back door, met by surprise, dilemmas and noise, as if it were not a normal consequence of events and directions in art that had made themselves at home on our soil, events which have smoothly and without much resistance 'passed' and been easily 'swallowed' by our desperate, hungry audiences' seeking originality at any cost'.²³² The article here alluded to the gradual Americanisation of Yugoslav cultural life and the emergence of Pop Art as a logical consequence, implying a lack of criticality on the part of the Yugoslav cultural sphere, indicating that anything Western was automatically viewed as interesting and original. In this article, along those published in many other broadsheets, Pop Art was seen as a conformist artistic expression of American 'bourgeois boys', complicit and passive in their world made of 'neon, colourful industrial goods, Coca Cola, adverts and chemically stimulated underage sex'.²³³ Ivanjicki was now seen as the voice of such decadence.

Yugoslav media had an ambiguous relationship with Western liberalism, on the one hand being the very channel which spread liberal messages and images, and on the other, as was the case in this article, taking a moral high ground and reporting on anything Western as morally corrupt, vulgar and decadent. As if this was not enough scorn for the artist, the same newspaper, a week later published a mocking review of Ivanjicki's exhibition, entitled 'In short: Hmm!'

sculpture, produced objects, illustrations, books, set design, while also being involved in theory and experiments outside the visual arts. He first exhibited in 1953, and his first solo exhibition took place in Belgrade's Graphic Collective Gallery in 1958.

²³¹ *Borba*, 18 October 1964,

²³² *Ibid*

²³³ *Ibid*

(‘*U Kratko: Hm!*’). In this text, the author offered a sampling of the mostly sarcastic and condescending responses to Ivanjicki’s exhibition written in the gallery’s comments book. In summary, the newspaper reported that Belgrade audiences dismissed Ivanjicki’s exhibition as rude, ugly, insane (some of the alleged comments in the book, addressed to the artist, read ‘Sickness of intelligence! Please urgently call the police!’; ‘Do you think that your fellow citizens are mentally ill?’; ‘Don’t you have anything better to do?’; and ‘Could you make a cage for my monkey’ etc.). Further coverage of this first Yugoslav Pop Art exhibition in other press included an article entitled ‘Toying with Painting’ (‘*Vjesnik*’ (*The Herald*, 4 October 1964) which solicited responses to the exhibition from Belgrade’s cultural workers (a mixed response, but more positive than the rest of the coverage of the show), and another article, entitled ‘Everyone Has The Right to Amuse Themselves’ (*Ekspres* (*The Express*), 5 October 1964) in which Mira Trajilovic, the well-known Director of the radical Belgrade theatre Atelje 212 (Atelier 212), bemusedly explained that the very same works had been displayed at her theatre six months earlier, without the Pop Art label, to an audience of 2000 people – to no public outrage. Yugoslav audiences and critics were evidently more aggravated by the association with Pop Art– an American import– than by the works themselves. Given how keen Ivanicki was on identifying herself as a Pop Artist, the act of naming is in this instance a more interesting phenomenon than the exhibition itself.

By 1964 Yugoslav audiences were already familiar with Pop Art through international media and touring exhibitions, but most poignantly as a result of the coverage of the work of Robert Rauschenberg, who in 1963 won the first prize at Ljubljana’s Graphics Biennial for his lithograph *Accident* (1963). At the time a 38 year-old artist in the early stages of recognition, Rauschenberg soon earned international acclaim when he was awarded the prize for the best foreign artist at the Venice Biennial in 1964. The group exhibition of Pop Art in the US pavilion in Venice shifted the focus in terms of painting from Europe to the USA as the centre of new, fresh ideas.²³⁴ Yugoslav art press, alongside mainstream dailies covered Rauschenberg’s Graphics Biennial prize

²³⁴ Aside from Rauschenberg the USA pavilion in Venice in 1964 also featured works by Jasper Johns, Jim Dine, and Claes Oldenburg. In addition, an exhibition of pop artists, organized by the gallerists Leo Castelli and Ileana Sonnabend, took place in parallel at the former American Consulate at San Gregorio in Venice.

extensively, as well as his subsequent success in Venice (Rauschenberg also had a solo exhibition at the Graphics Biennial in 1965, as the winning artist of the previous iteration), – introducing the phenomenon of Pop Art into the Yugoslav cultural discourse.²³⁵

But while Rauschenberg's work was met with interest, admiration and curiosity by the Yugoslav critics and popular media, the idea of a Yugoslav artist adopting an artistic direction embedded in, and potentially celebratory, of values aligned with American decadence, was less acceptable. Ivanjicki's enthusiastic announcement that she was now a Pop Artist was ridiculed for its uncritical alignment with Western values, which the Yugoslav critics struggled to accept.

Ivanjicki may have been the first self-proclaimed Pop artist in the country, enthused by her first hand exposure to Pop Art and American fast-moving consumer culture during her time in the USA, but her interest in Pop was by no means unique in Yugoslavia. Many of her contemporaries also embraced Pop at the same time, influenced by the knowledge of both European figuration and British and American Pop gleaned through travel (although in most cases not as extensive as Ivanjicki's grant-enabled tour of the USA), touring exhibitions, and magazines, as well as visiting the Ljubljana Graphics Biennial. Young artists, predominantly those based in Ljubljana and Belgrade, turned to Pop, while in Zagreb, the third of the 'centres'²³⁶ of Yugoslavia's polycentric cultural space (to paraphrase Ješa Denegri's characterization of Yugoslav culture), the quest for a fresh approach took a different direction, in the form of

²³⁵ The Yugoslav art press and mainstream dailies covered the award of the prize to Rauschenberg extensively. The Zagreb-published broadsheet *Vjesnik* (The Herald) commended the biennial for its vitality and courage, demonstrated by its departure from convention in awarding the prize to an unknown artist, describing Rauschenberg's work as full of 'quality, courage, non-conformism, new ideas'. See 'Vitalnost Ljubljanskog Bijenala ('The Vitality of the Ljubljana biennial') *Vjesnik*, 23 July 1963,

²³⁶ As Yugoslavia had six republics and two provinces, eight cities had the status of local capitals, while Belgrade was the capital of the whole of the country. Whilst officially representation was always sought from each of the republics and provinces equally, the reality was that Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian capitals along the capital of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, dominated the cultural scene. This can in part be attributed to the economic realities of these republics (the North/South divide), and in part to these cities attracting a more robust infrastructure in terms of cultural support, educational institutions because much of the Yugoslav administration was located in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, therefore attracting international visitors and acting as hubs not just for political life but also cultural exchange.

the 'New Tendencies' movement, which began in 1961, focusing instead on connections with technology, kinetic art and cybernetics.²³⁷

3. 'New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle' - The First Group Exhibition of Yugoslav Pop Reactions

Less than two years after Ivanjicki's controversial exhibition, a group of young Belgrade artists, whose work was heterogeneous but broadly unified by their turn to figuration and their enthusiasm for Pop's aesthetics, were for the first time brought together in a group exhibition entitled '*Nova Figuracija Beogradskog Kruga*' ('The New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle'); the exhibition included Ivanjicki's work as well.

The exhibition took place at Belgrade's Cultural Centre Gallery in February 1966.²³⁸ It included fifteen paintings featuring the work of five young artists: Olja Ivanjicki, Dragos Kalajic – Drago, Bole Miloradović, Dušan Otašević, and Radomir Reljić. The exhibition was curated by the art critic and curator, Djordje Kadijević, at the time an active presence on Belgrade's art scene, who sought to highlight a 'new figurative tide' in painting in Belgrade. Kadijević explained in the catalogue essay, that the work, hitherto referred to by different critics as 'new figuration, new objecthood and new realism' was unified by the 'renewal of the significance of objects as the content of painting'.²³⁹

The exhibited work was innovative for a number of reasons – the flat, uniform application of primary colours, in some cases using household paint on wood (Otašević), and the turn to figuration with motifs brought in from popular culture and everyday life – news, magazines or street vernacular. Other shared strategies could be observed – multiple separate images on one canvas had

²³⁷ The artists' movement 'New Tendencies' started in 1961 and was centred around three exhibitions held in Zagreb in 1961, 1963, and 1965, and finally in 1968 (under the title 'Tendencies 4') a symposium, a short exhibition, and a long-lasting series of events around the theme of computers and visual research. The movement ended in 1978. For more on 'New Tendencies' see the documentation and catalogue of the research project: BIT International [New] Tendencies Computers and Visual Research, Zagreb 1961-1973, Neue Galerie, Graz, 2007 ZKM (Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie), Karlsruhe, 2008-2009; Curator: Darko Fritz.

²³⁹ Djordje Kadijević, *New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle*, Exhibition Catalogue, , p. 5.

replaced the singular motif, and in some cases these images suggested a sense of temporality through separate television-like frames, or comic-like rectangles positioned in succession. (for instance in Kalajić and Ivanjicki's paintings) These characteristics indeed were unusual within the environment dominated by abstraction, but the works on show had little in common with each other beyond these formal elements and were not similar enough to signify the beginnings of a movement. Given the diversity of the exhibited work, the exhibition came across more as an observation of an emerging phenomenon, rather than the beginning of a coherent artistic movement.

Olja Ivanjicki showed three works,²⁴⁰ two mixed media pieces and an oil painting. The painting was entitled *Nesto u Životu je Kao Žilet* (*Something in Life is like a Razor Blade* [also referred to as *Nesto je Ostro Kao Zilet* *Something is Sharp like a Razor Blade*])²⁴¹ (1966), (Fig. 5). The composition focused on a depiction of small daily routine acts, such as shaving, intertwined with news topics of the Cold War era – the fear of a nuclear war, the dismay over the Vietnam War, and the constant news coverage of the repeated space explorations both by Soviet Union and the USA. Ivanjicki commented, in reference to the painting, that 'at times space travel seems like a hellish thing – something sharp like a razor blade – like a collage of everything that happens in a person's life in a day, from shaving in the morning to anticipating the explosion of the atomic bomb...'.²⁴² The painting was dominated by a figure of an astronaut overlooking a series of events dotted around the canvas, in separate scenes, with a central depiction of a nuclear explosion unfolding on a pink background. These concerns were central to many Pop artists globally at the time, appearing, for instance, in Andy Warhol's silkscreen *Atomic Bomb* (1965), the Spanish group Equipo Chronica's *Deformación profesional* (*Professional Deformation*) 1966, and the German artist Kiki Kogelnik's 1962 sculpture *Bombs in Love* (pictured in Chapter 1, Fig 2). Ivanjicki's painting heralded what were to become ongoing tropes in her

²⁴⁰ Ivanjicki's works in 'New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle' were entitled: *Nesto u Životu je Kao Žilet* (*Something in Life is like a Razor Blade*) (1966), *Mala Misolovka Za Velike Stvari* (*A small mousetrap for big things*) (1965) and a painting *Jabuke, jabuke, jabuke, jabuke* (*Apples, Apples, Apples, Apples*) (1966). Only an image of the first painting was available.

²⁴¹ These two similar titles appear in different accounts, but I have been only able to access an image for one painting for both.

²⁴² Interview for *Vecernje Novosti*, (*Evening News*) 1970.

painting: reflection on current events, images of astronauts, pharaohs (as a reflection on historical connections juxtaposed with current technology). This painting also included figures from fashion magazines, a section of an instruction manual, an image of the *Mona Lisa* with her face covered in white paint. Ivanjicki here introduced a new way of treating the canvas, using it as a surface on which to juxtapose heterogeneous elements, reminiscent of the way life and media intertwine in daily life. American Pop Art influence was evident in her use of large sections of flat colour as background upon which to position individual elements. The division of the canvas into segments or ‘mini scenes’ is reminiscent of the use of canvas space in Robert Rauschenberg’s ‘combines’, for instance *Retroactive II* (1963) (Fig 6) in which a combination of separate elements coexist in one canvas, but without the ‘sharp’ formal division into frames. While Rauschenberg combined silkscreen and painting, Ivanjicki stayed with painting only, which continued to be her main medium beyond her Pop Art phase (the late 1970s), at a later date giving way to magical realism and fantasy scenes of the cosmos and the supernatural, retaining elements of surrealism that had been central to the work of the group Medijala.

Dušan Otašević, at the time a fifth year student at the Belgrade academy, exhibited three serial works *Poliptih 1* (Fig. 7), *Poliptih 2* and *Diptih* (Fig. 8 – *Diptih* is reproduced in this image alongside Dragos Kalajić’s piece from the exhibition, in the exhibition review in the issue 6 of the magazine *Umetnost*, discussed further on). Otašević’s work in this exhibition introduced a pared-down aesthetics of street signs, presented in the format of a diptych and a polyptich (a format dating back to early Renaissance church paintings), which he used to introduce a narrative. This was technique the artist would go on to develop over the decade to follow, but also one regularly used by Pop artists to introduce seriality and narrative. Like Ivanjicki, Otašević focused on different stages of small, mundane events: the four stages of lighting a match, the image of an mouth open in one image, then closed in another. Other serial works made in the same period (also entitled *Poliptih*, 1966) included a vertically positioned four-part image of a tap with dripping water gradually (absurdly, illogically) filling the squares of the painting, positioned one above another. Combining the narrative mode of comic strips and the simplicity of street signs, Otašević’s works echoed both Lichtenstein’s and Warhol’s serial

images. His two part-comic book style mini-narratives shared an approach with Lichtenstein's *Step on Can With Leg* (1961) and Warhol's 'before and after' reworked advertisements (for instance *Before and After 3*, 1962 depicts a profile with a nose before and after plastic surgery). These works would have been easily available for Otašević to see in reproduction at the time, but it is unclear whether he was aware of these particular works, being more connected (as discussed below) to the European, and in particular Italian tradition of new figuration.

Unlike Lichtenstein and Warhol – both speaking from the heart of booming consumerism, Otašević's own diptychs and polyptychs were not so much a critique of consumer society²⁴³ as a meditation on the absurdity and the mundane nature of daily rituals – unremarkable moments at the heart of the modest pleasures present in Yugoslav consumerism – much less invasive than its Western counterpart. Otašević's works exhibited here also contain surrealist elements, such as for instance the absurdity of a dripping tap producing pools of water collecting across separate frames in gravity-defying ways, reflecting the significant influence of surrealism on the Belgrade art scene.²⁴⁴

Another artist who exhibited in 'New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle' was Dragos Kalajić – Drago (b. 1943), who showed two paintings, entitled *72.5% Dnevnik 178*, (*72.5% Diary 178*), 1964 (Fig. 9) and *Oprosti Za Tako Dugi Pogled* (*Forgive Such a Long Gaze*), 1965 (Fig. 8). As a recent graduate of the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Rome, 1965, Kalajić was at this point living between Rome and Belgrade. In Rome he became immersed in the Italian *nuova figurazione* (new figuration) movement and was keen to open up connections between Belgrade and Rome both through his work and writing

²⁴³ In 'Popmodernizam' Branislav Dimitrijević describes Otašević's work as 'reactive ambivalence' to the Yugoslav circumstances, going on to conclude that the images simultaneously fascinate and distance the viewer'. Branislav Dimitrijević and Marina Martić, Eds., *Dušan Otašević – Popmodernizam*, (Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2003), p. 112.

²⁴⁴ In 'Pop Art and the Socialist 'Thing': Dušan Otašević in the 1960s' Branislav Dimitrijević traces the influence of surrealism on the Belgrade art scene back to the fact that some prominent members of the political elite had been surrealist poets (for instance the poet Marko Ristić was President of the Committee for International Cultural Relations and the poet Aleksandar Vučo was the President of the Committee for Cinematography), which 'laid the groundwork' for the emergence of surrealist-inspired group Medijala. <<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/24/pop-art-and-the-socialist-thing-Dušan-Otašević-in-the-1960s>>, last accessed, 15 September 2016.

(Kalajić was also an art critic), as well as by finding opportunities to exhibit international work in Belgrade.²⁴⁵ Kalajić's links with the *nuova figurazione* movement were instrumental in the communication of artistic scenes of the two cities.

In his paintings Kalajić divided the canvas, crating segments reminiscent of television frames or newspaper columns. In *72.5% Dnevnik 178'* (Fig. 9) which refers to either keeping a diary or the television news (the word *dnevnik* in Serbo-Croat is used for both), forty eight squares combine imagery, including the cover of the Elle magazine, several models posing for fashion magazines, a portrait of a film actor or a singer, the map of Serbia, the red star (the central symbol on the Yugoslav flag), and a number of abstract images and patterns. The work is an amalgamation of different media sources present in Yugoslavia at the time.

The influence of Italian new figuration artists is evident in Kalajić's practice, for instance his method of dividing the canvas into smaller squares delineated by sharp black lines – a technique similar to that of the Italian artist Mario Schifano (Fig. 10). In *Oprosti Za Tako Dugi Pogled (Forgive Such a Long Gaze)*, 1965, Kalajić takes a frequently used Pop subject – a suited male figure– shown in profile, seen from the back. Kalajić employs a different pictorial approach in each of the sections of the painting, creating a grid, in which the subject is painted using a different colourway and brushstroke in each square, creating a repetitive grid.

The technique of repetition combined with a different treatment in each of the segments would later prove central to Kalajić's work. He went on to represent significant cultural figures in this manner, including James Joyce, Louis-

²⁴⁵ Kalajić was able to bring the influential Italian art historian, critic and curator Enrico Crispolti to Belgrade, to present a more modest version of the biennial exhibition 'Alternative Attuali' (Alternative Currents) which Crispolti had been curating in a sixteenth century castle located in the southern Italian town of L'Aquila since 1962 (Crispolti's international 'Alternative Currents' exhibitions took place in 1962, 1963, 1965, 1968 and were seminal in bringing international artists together,

The reduced version of 'Alternative Attuali' was shown in 1965 in Belgrade's Youth Centre between 16 May and 16 June 2067. His Roman exhibition 'Dimensions of the Real' was also brought to Belgrade's Youth Centre (*Dom Omladine*) in 1967. The exhibition was delivered on a smaller budget than its Italian counterpart and included prints and drawings, but not paintings.

Ferdinand Céline, Marcel Proust (Fig. 11), Ernest Hemingway and Erich von Stroheim, in a series of paintings made in 1967.

Like Dušan Otašević and Olja Ivanjicki, who both embraced a number of Pop Art techniques compositionally, but did not stretch to the mechanised image (neither used screen printing for instance), Kalajić's repetition experiments were all executed by hand. Unlike his Western counterparts whose experiments with difference emerged in the process of the production of a mechanical image (Rauschenberg and Warhol's interest in 'mistakes' / glitches in screenprinting), Kalajić programmatically explored the media image through painterly exercises, not forays into mechanisation. Kalajić's approach was closer to Roy Lichtenstein's comic book paintings in which popular culture was brought to canvas 'challenging the oppositions upon which pure painting was founded: high versus low, fine versus commercial, abstract versus figurative' as has been observed by Hal Foster²⁴⁶.

The techniques shared by a number of Yugoslav Pop Reactions artists were representative of Yugoslavia's moderate consumerism, which did not have (or need) the same levels of mechanisation and automation as America. The Pop effect in the work of young Yugoslav artists showed an interest in mechanisation, repetition and automation, but these were enacted and artificial ways of arriving at a phenomenon that in Western artists' work simply emerged from the processes embedded in screen printing, or lithography. The nature of these processes was a reflection on the overwhelming effects of consumer and media culture embodied supermarket shelves with boundless rows of identical products, factory assembly lines, ubiquity of film and pop star images, and persistent advertising and news encroaching on private spaces (as articulated by Andy Warhol after hearing of Kennedy's death: '...It didn't bother me that much that he was dead. What bothered me was the way the television and radio were programming everybody to feel so sad.')²⁴⁷. An early example of an artwork triggered by the mechanical error was Rauschenberg's lithograph *Accident* (1963) which emerged as the result of a mechanical error embedded in the repetition of the process of creating lithographs (the stone

²⁴⁶ Hal Foster, 'Survey', in Mark Francis and Hal Foster (Eds), *Pop* (London: Phaidon, 2005), p. 26.

²⁴⁷ Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *Pop-ism*, (London: Pimlico Edition, 1996), p. 60.

broke in two while he was working on it). Similarly Warhol's *Eight Elvisses* (1963) or *Ten Lizes* (1963) which were constructed around the differences between individual printed images. By contrast the repetition and difference between individual images in Kalajić, Otašević and Ivanjicki were 'enacted' through painting only, or deliberately produced, to create a Pop effect, lacking the processual, or indeed everyday life experiences that would produce, or inspire such work.

In his curator's text in the exhibition catalogue, Kadijević introduced new figuration as 'born out of a revolt against formalist abstract painting' and fuelled by a 'new aesthetic and ethical mission for the painted object'.²⁴⁸ Kadijević proposed that the treatment of the object in the work of new figuration artists in the exhibition was, in fact, characterized by an aversion towards that very object. The object, according to Kadijević, was becoming a symbol of the contradictory world, filled with fear. Kadijević's text proposed that the expressive figuration artists were drawn to the object from a different perspective than the one of their Western counterparts, who above all sought to capture 'the new look of the world'²⁴⁹ and introduce and disrupt the hierarchy of high and low culture. For Kadijević the work in the exhibition was underpinned by irony, and fuelled by the artists' desire to revolt against prior painting conventions, rendering the object free of its 'plastic fullness and materiality'. Kadijević observed that painting had 'never been closer to a horrible place where banality meets nothingness' than at this point. He went on to explain that the object in these works of new figuration negated the tradition of realism, as well as the surrealist esotericism, and metaphysical expression, while retaining some of the lyrical abstraction dominant in Yugoslavia at the time. For Kadijević, 'the object is somewhat unreal, something fantastic, as if returning, ghost-like from the nothingness which modern painting has reached in its adventure'.²⁵⁰ Kadijević's view of Yugoslav new figuration, then, had little to do with the zest and enthusiasm present in Pop Art, and was more aligned with the existential questions that were aligned with European figuration.

²⁴⁸ Djordje Kadijević, *Sveska Broj 75: Nova Figuracija Beogradskog Kruga (Notebook Number 75: New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle)*, (Belgrade: Galerija Kulturnog Centra Beograda, 1966).

²⁴⁹ Hal Foster, Hal, *Pop*, p. 26.

²⁵⁰ Djordje Kadijević, *New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle*, p. 5.

For Kadijević, the figuration in the work of what he termed the ‘Belgrade circle’ aligned with the sensibility of New Figuration in Europe, ensuring a distancing of European artists’ engagement with figuration from American Pop Art, of which he was highly critical. Kadijević saw American Pop as expressing a ‘painful helplessness’ of the artwork, which was by this point ‘unable to defend itself from the banality of the industrial object which was threatening to take up the dominant position’.²⁵¹ This view echoed Jean Baudrillard’s belief that Pop was engulfed by the consumer society it was critiquing, failing to disturb the order of the system from which it emerged.²⁵² The European New Figuration artists, meanwhile, according to Kadijević responded by observing ‘the relation object–artwork with curiosity and a malicious glee about the order of the contemporary world’.²⁵³ Kadijević was keen to place the Belgrade artists’ work in the wider context of European figuration, distinguishing it at any cost from what he termed the ‘extreme radicalism, which denies tradition and finds bizarre modes of expression’, which is how he saw American Pop.

Kadijević’s reading of American Pop as an uncritical acceptance of the status quo was in line with the dominant critical reception of Pop Art in Yugoslavia – an environment in which consumerism was not as pervasive in daily life as it was in the West. Pop Art’s biggest achievement, which lay in the shifting of boundaries of art within the industrialised society or, according to Lawrence Alloway in ‘a new sensitivity to the presence of images from mass communications and to objects from mass production assimilable within the work of art’²⁵⁴ did not have the right tone for the Yugoslav critics. The reading of American Pop Art as shallow and resigned, did not allow for the possibility that the glossy images of consumer culture could have had a critical distance (a contested claim, but one that held some truth). What Kadijević referred to as ‘bizarre modes of expression’, was actually Pop’s strategy of ‘aligning itself with kitsch and mass culture’. Far from ‘painfully helpless’ as Kadijević saw it, American Pop held a ‘new willingness to treat our whole culture as if it were

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Jean Baudrillard, ‘Pop – An Art of Consumption’, *Art & Design*, Vol 5, 11 – 12, 1989, pp. 61–63.

²⁵³ Ibid

²⁵⁴ Lawrence Alloway, *American Pop Art*, p. 7.

art'²⁵⁵ as articulated by Alloway, allowing for a reciprocity between mass media and art and for the dismantling of Greenbergian hierarchies by artists' incorporation of the whole of the media environment into their practice. As Alloway summed up: 'Their art was not the consequence of renunciation but of incorporation.'²⁵⁶

Despite Kadijević's effort to draw a distinction between the work of Belgrade New Figuration artists and American Pop, much of the work in the exhibition equally echoed elements of American Pop Art, as it did influences of European New Figuration. Influences of Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein and Robert Rauschenberg as well as echoes of their European counterparts Erro, Hervé Télémaque and Bernard Rancillac were in particular evident in the work's turn to the serial image, referencing comic books and television screens.

The 'New Figuration of the Belgrade Circle' exhibition took place shortly after the founding of the magazine *Umetnost (Art)* (1965) which would go on to be one of the main sites of critical discourse for art in the country.²⁵⁷ In a review of the exhibition which appeared in issue 6 of the magazine (May – July 1966), the art critic Slobodan Ristic pointed to the diverse nature of the work by the five artists in the exhibition, suggesting that the exhibition's title spoke more of the interests of its curator Djordje Kadijević and his desire to form a coherent 'group' reading of the work, than any genuinely shared aesthetic preoccupations on the part of the artists.²⁵⁸

Pop Art was in the spotlight in Issue 7 of the magazine *Umetnost (Art)*, (July - September 1966), dominated by a nineteen-page essay by the Yugoslav art historian and critic known for his support of naïve art, Oto Bihalji Merin, in

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 7.

²⁵⁷ *Umetnost*, 'a Magazine for Fine Arts and Criticism' (*Casopis za Likovne Umetnosti i Kritiku*), began publication in 1965, in Belgrade. Published by the Publishing Institute 'Yugoslavia' (*Izdavacki Zavod 'Jugoslavija'*), *Umetnost* came out four times per year and was initiated and edited (between 1965 and 1970) by the painter, art critic and University Professor Stojan Celic. The grand ambitions of the magazine to become a key international publication are evident both in its editorial scope, and multilingual content (English and French).

²⁵⁸ Slobodan Ristic, 'Review of Nova Figuracija Beogradskog Kruga', *Umetnost* 6, May, June, July 1966, , p. 98.

which he discussed at length Pop Art in the lineage of 20th century art.²⁵⁹ Illustrated by full-page reproductions of works by Robert Rauschenberg, Warhol, Claes Oldenburg, Michelangelo Pistoletto and Jasper Johns, Bihalji-Merin's text 'Anti Art and New Reality'²⁶⁰ addressed shared concerns between Dada and Pop Art, concluding that when viewed from a historical distance the line between the two is likely to be blurred, seeing them as two aspects of the same idea in 20th century art. Bihalji-Merin read American Pop as above all anti-intellectual, writing that 'Whichever way the Pop artist turns he comes against an industrialised society. At the core of Pop Art there lies a resistance against superiority of the mind and in its anti-intellectual and anti-European attitude there is something of nostalgia for simplicity, naïveté and perhaps even more for ordinary everyday things.' Bihalji Merin's reading of American pop as anti-intellectual, and anti European is symptomatic of the Yugoslav polarization between American Pop and European figuration – a tradition with which they were keen to identify Yugoslav artists. The climate of hostility amongst Yugoslav intellectual circles towards American imports was evident in the reluctance attribute any cultural influence to America. As outlined by Branislav Dimitrijević in writing about Pop: 'hostility was shown both by official policy makers (who were not so much ideologically anti-American as culturally anti-American) and by artists and critics, who identified American Pop Art to be symptomatic of the de-humanised denigration of art in the aggressively commercial, consumerist culture of the West'.²⁶¹

4. The Ljubljana '*Ekspresivna Figuralika*' ('Expressive Figuration') Artists

In parallel to Pop experiments in Belgrade, a group of Ljubljana-based artists began incorporating materials from everyday life and media in similar ways. The Ljubljana-based curator Aleksander Bassin coined the term 'Expressive Figuration' ('*Ekspresivna Figuralika*') on the occasion of an exhibition of the

²⁵⁹ Oto Bihalji-Merin, 'Anti Art and New Reality - The Return to Nature and the Unnatural', *Umetnost* 7 July -September 1966, pp. 5 – 10.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. The text was summarised in English on page 1 of the magazine, and published in Serbo-Croat on pages 3 to 11, 'Anti Umetnost in Nova Realnost – Povratak prirodi i neprirodi'.

²⁶¹ Branislav Dimitrijević, 'Pop Art and the Socialist 'Thing': Dušan Otašević in the 1960s' - Tate Papers no.24, <<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/24/pop-art-and-the-socialist-thing-Dušan-Otašević-in-the-1960s>>

work of nine young Ljubljana artists that he organized, held at Belgrade's Gallery of the Cultural Centre (*Galerija Kulturnog Centra Beograda*) in 1968.²⁶² The exhibition featured the work of Sreco Dragan, Kostja Gatnik, Herman Gvardjancic, Zmago Jeraj, Boris Jesih, Bogoslav Kalas, Metka Krašovec, Lojze Logar and Ladislav Pengov. (Fig. 12 – Image of the front and back cover of the exhibition catalogue). Entitled 'Expressive Figuration of the Young Ljubljana Circle', the exhibition sought to showcase new tendencies in the work of young Slovene artists, which Bassin defined as 'transitioning from expressive meaning-based art to pure visualization, harmonization and the addition of spatial elements'.²⁶³ This was a different way of speaking about a tendency that shared many characteristics with Denegri's 'new objecthood' (*'Nova predmetnost'*) in which the artists explored new forms of representation.

These were young artists many of whom had been studying in the class of the artist Riko Debenjak²⁶⁴ (his students included Lojze Logar, Metka Krašovec, Zmago Jeraj and Kostja Gatnik) at the Ljubljana Fine Art Academy, and who,

²⁶² The fact that the first such exhibition took place in Belgrade, as opposed to Ljubljana, was explained by Aleksander Bassin as a lack of exhibition opportunities for this type of emerging work in Ljubljana, and a more permissive and open scene in Belgrade. Bassin claimed that a certain amount of conservatism existed within the Ljubljana art scene, which favoured the older generation of artists, thus not opening up exhibition opportunities to the younger generation. In Belgrade, Bassin was able to present not only the 'Ekspresivna Figuralika' exhibition, but also on the same day, open a solo exhibition of the work of Zmago Jeraj, at the House of Youth (*Dom Omladine*), just down the road from the KCB (*Kulturni Centar Beograda*) where the group exhibition was held. This moment clearly demonstrated an interest in figuration, with two key spaces in the city simultaneously welcoming Slovenian artists working in this manner.

In the interview I conducted with Bassin in March 2015, he responded in an email to the question of why the exhibition took place in Belgrade, and not in Ljubljana, in the following way: 'Zoran Krzislak was at this time President of Yugoslav section of AICA, and I was the general secretary. The relationship between us, concerning young Ljubljana circle of artists, was not very close, even antagonistic, as Zoran Krzislak was tied to the artists of the middle generation, to the professors of all these young artists from the Academy of Fine Arts. This was the reason, that after Belgrade (1968) it was only in 1971 that the Group of Ekspresivna Figuralika had an exhibition at Modern Gallery Ljubljana.' According to Bassin, whilst the presence of the Graphics Biennial was liberating in some ways, it also became a dominant platform, not easily accepting younger artists and their approaches. Bassin attributed the relative conservatism of the Ljubljana scene to the fact that Zoran Krzislak was tied to the artists of a middle generation, to the professors of all the young artists working under the banner of 'Ekspresivna Figuralika' from the Academy of Fine Arts. This was the reason, that following the Belgrade exhibition (1968) it was only in 1971 that the group of artists associated with 'Expressivna Figuralika' had the first opportunity to exhibit in their native city – at the Modern Gallery Ljubljana.

²⁶³ Alexander Bassin, *Die Magie der Kunst, Protagonisten der slowenischen Gegenwartskunst 1968 - 2013* (*The Magic of Art, Protagonists of the Slovenian Contemporary Art 1968 – 2013*), [Kunstlerhaus, Karlsplatz 5, 1010 Vienna, 6 February – 29 March 2015], (Vienna: Kunstlerhaus, 2015), p. 160.

²⁶⁴ The painter and illustrator Riko Debenjak (1908- 1987) who was known for being one of the first artists to introduce screen printing in Slovenia.

perhaps a little later than their Belgrade counterparts, by the late 1960s, turned towards figuration, popular culture and everyday life, as soon as such experimentation felt possible: *'A few of us towards the end of 1960s started doing something else. [...] This was a time when boundaries were already opening up, then in a way this had an effect in our work. Prior to this it was not allowed'* explained Lojze Logar in an interview.²⁶⁵

Bassin saw the work of the *Ekspresivna Figuralika* artists as the youngest generation seeking to 'break away from the painting tradition of [...] visionary symbolism', following in the footsteps of three key artists in Slovenia who were the first generation to challenge the socialist modernist tradition: Marij Pregelj, Gabrijel Stupica and Stane Kregar.²⁶⁶ Bassin characterises 'Ekspresive Figuration' as being centered on 'a subtle estheticism, a different treatment of colours, realistic forms from [an] optical vision, together with a kind of brutalism, eroticism...' ²⁶⁷ going on to explain that these artists were responding to 'the new developments beyond national borders: to Pop Art, new realism, and narrative figuration, as well as the most extreme phenomena in radical realism'.²⁶⁸ He saw their work as being 'on the border of narrative figuration and radical realism'.²⁶⁹ Similarly to Kadijević, Bassin highlighted the existentialism of these new practices as central to the work.

Despite being influenced by international artistic tendencies including Pop Art, new realism and narrative figuration, the work of the nine artists exhibited in the 1968 Belgrade show remained firmly rooted in painting, not yet espousing the possibility of incorporating non-art / unconventional materials in the work. The exhibition consisted of work using traditional media – acrylics, oil and tempera on canvas.

The work in the exhibition that most directly inferred American Pop was *Kokosja Juha–Sporocilo (Chicken Soup - The Message)* (1968) (Fig. 13) by

²⁶⁵ An interview with Lojze Logar, by Lina Džuverović, 17 June 2014, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

²⁶⁶ These three artists each in their own way challenged the status quo in Slovenian painting.

²⁶⁷ An Interview with Aleksander Bassin, by Lina Džuverović, (over email), March 2015

²⁶⁸ Bassin, Alexander, *Die Magie der Kunst, Protagonisten der slowenischen Gegenwartskunst 1968 - 2013 (The Magic of Art, Protagonists of the slovenian contemporary art 1968 – 2013)*, Kunstlerkaus, Karlsplatz 5, 1010 Vienna, 6 February – 29 March 2015, pg 160

²⁶⁹ An Interview with Aleksander Bassin, by Lina Džuverović, (over email), March 2015

Metka Krašovec, who was at the time a student of graphics in Ljubljana, but who had in 1966/67 studied at the Graphics Department of the School of Painting, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. In *Kokosja Juha–Sporocilo*, Krašovec reproduced the packaging of the Yugoslav popular brand of soup called *Podravka* (Fig. 14) in a direct response to Warhol's Campbell's soup series of screenprints (first shown at the Ferus Gallery in Los Angeles in 1962, where they were displayed on a shelf, like supermarket products). Unlike Warhol's screenprints, in which repetition was suggestive of seriality and automation in line with the artist's well-known statement that 'everyone should be a machine'²⁷⁰, Krašovec's soup logos were reproduced ten times, broadly hinting at repetition, but just like the works of Otašević, Kalajić and Ivanjicki discussed previously, her works were, in fact the same motif vaguely repeated, produced manually, with the soup logo varying substantially in size and level of detail, thus contrasting the uniformity of the production/consumption cycle present Warhol's form of repetition. Warhol's Campbell's soup cans were semi-mechanical images produced as a combination of painting, screen-printing and stamp technique, while Krašovec's images came into being through an entirely different process— they were painstakingly executed detailed paintings. Warhol's images incorporated the profit-driven speed, automation and uniformity of American consumer life, be it through the gathering and repetition of products (soup cans) or celebrities (Marilyn, Elvis, Liz Taylor, etc) or indeed accidents (his 'Death in America' series of the early 1960s) which he himself interpreted as a form of emptying, a way of dealing with events in one's life: 'the more you look at the same thing, the more the meaning goes away, and the better and emptier you feel'²⁷¹ and which Hal Foster wrote about in terms of trauma, claiming that repetitions not only 'reproduce traumatic effects, they produce them as well'.²⁷² Said to have subconsciously aimed to 'conquer by copying or control by gathering',²⁷³ repetition in Warhol also operated beyond the painting in his collecting, recording, and photographing. Krašovec's response by painting the domestic equivalent of Campbell's soup echoed a smaller, slower, less developed form

²⁷⁰ Hal Foster, *The First Pop Age: Painting and Subjectivity in the Art of Hamilton, Lichtenstein, Warhol, Richter, and Ruscha* (Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 110.

²⁷¹ Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol '60s*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), p. 50.

²⁷² Hal Foster, 'Death in America', *October*, Vol. 75 (Winter, 1996), 36-59.

²⁷³ Hal Foster, *First Pop Age*, p. 147.

of reproduction, requiring the painterly focus and time-investment possible in the Yugoslav situation – one of a much more ‘gentle’ consumerism. *Kokosija Juha* was also a rare artwork in Yugoslav Pop Reactions that actually contained a discernable reference to Yugoslavia. Krašovec incorporated the slogan from the advert for *Podravka* soup: ‘When cooking with one’s heart, one cooks *Podravka* soup.’ But beyond the linguistic link to Yugoslavia, *Podravka* said little more about life in the country at the time. Repetition remained a short-lived experiment for Krašovec as this was the only painting using this technique that she ever made. Her subsequent works explored dramatic colour contrasts, moving away from Pop influences as seen in *Interior (Kredenca)*, (Fig. 15).

Metka Krašovec was the only artist in the exhibition whose work showed strong influences of American Pop. Pop approaches to the image gleaned while studying in the USA the previous year were evident in both the artist’s choice of subject matter and the decision to use repetition in the treatment of her subject. Apart from Krašovec’s soup painting, the exhibition was dominated by portraiture with an overarching mood of dark realism.

Zmago Jeraj (b. 1937), fellow graduate of Krašovec from the Graphics Department of the Ljubljana Academy’s class of 1966, showed five works in the exhibition. Jeraj’s works were representative of the transitional moment between the humanist existentialist approach in art and the beginnings of a curiosity towards ways in which Pop Art integrated the everyday into art. His painting *Noz (The Knife)* (1967) (Fig. 16) was a pared down, black and white rendering of a table and chair, introducing only one detail in colour– a bright red knife positioned centrally on the table. The schematic, cartoon-like sharp black outline of the table and chair, and the large white areas that dominated the painting embraced a Pop aesthetics in their simplicity, but the introduction of the red knife gave the painting a sense of foreboding and darkness. Despite its overall Pop look, the painting had none of Pop’s playfulness, or enthusiasm.

Most of Jeraj’s other paintings in the exhibition were portraits. Depicting figures of men and women painted in uncomfortably clashing primary blues and reds, (Fig. 17 – *Zmago Jeraj, (Portrait)* 1968) in most cases looking into

the distance, past the viewer, in what appeared to be a shocked, cold, grimaces as if facing their own existential abyss. In other cases, when not gazing into space, Jeraj's subjects are shown with sunglasses (Fig. 18), which only allow for a glimpse of the eyes, overlaid with a reflection in the glasses. Writing in the exhibition catalogue Jeraj explained: 'I am a dark realist of sorts, attracted by the basic human anxiety borne out of the absurdity of the image of the world... In the dramatic setting of the image we often use the psycho-somatic properties of colours and their combinations. From visual art theory, from the phenomenology of colour, or combinations of colours, we learn or we can conclude for ourselves, that the relationship between two, black and red pigment boards, inspires the maximum effect of gruesomeness... The world is naked, there are no more illusions, it is a desert of anthropomorphically shaped matter, an unarticulated threat... and, despite all, I still imagine that my works are humanistically conceived, at least in their covert striving towards the survival of the human species and in their faith in the expression of the artwork.'²⁷⁴ Jeraj's existentialism emerges from the humanist underpinnings of abstract expressionism, and is far removed from Pop Art's enthusiasm and jovial embrace of small everyday events and technologies.

Jeraj's preoccupation with the 'the basic human anxiety born out of the absurdity of the image of the world' echoes Djordje Kadijević's reading of the object in the work of Belgrade new figuration artists as symbolic of the contradictory world, filled with fear. The exhibition, staged in 1968, happened at a moment in which different strands of philosophy and literature in Yugoslavia (as well as globally) overlapped. The existentialism of Sartre and the focus on authenticity was being challenged by Marshal McLuhan's writing on the symbiotic relationship between humans and machines. As pointed by David Antfam in writing about Abstract Expressionism's many faces, 'History, biography and artistic motives need not move in step. Deeper structures may operate.'²⁷⁵ Such the way artists were brought together in this exhibition. It was not surprising to find an overlap between the modernist focus on the human

²⁷⁴ Catalogue for the exhibiton 'Expressive Figuration of the Ljubljana Circle', held at Belgrade's Cultural Centre (Galerija Kulturnog Centra Beograda) in 1968, p. 2.

²⁷⁵ American Art in the 20th Century, Painting and Sculpture; Ed Christos M. Joachimides (Editor), etc. (Editor), Norman Rosenthal (Editor) Antfam, David, The Extremes of Abstract Expressionism, p 87

condition, and the beginnings of a new tendency in this work, given the rapid shifts of this period.

Another Pop work in the exhibition came from Boris Jesih who was drawn to Pop's fetishisation of the woman's body (his work is discussed in Chapter 7 in the context of gender difference in Yugoslav art). In this exhibition Jesih showed an early work which drew on media imagery, in this case focussing on women's lips. *Upotrebljavajte Ruz Za Usne BB (You should use lipstick BB)*, (1968), (Fig. 19) showed, in the form of a simplified schematic, four stages of the process of lipstick application. In this work Jeraj's shared preoccupations with other artists within this exhibition who explicitly turned to mass media culture. Jeraj's 'BB' is most likely Brigitte Bardot who in this period would have been well-known in Yugoslav media, in particular with her song 'La Mandrague'.

In the exhibition Lojze Logar showed two acrylics depicting female figures. (pictured in the exhibition catalogue, along with other artists' images Fig. 12: *Figura V* and *Figura VI*). At this stage Logar's practice was still dominated by painting, and his pictorial approach retained elements of expressive gestural brushstrokes, depicting a figure in motion. The colour was applied with heavy gradation from one colour to another, leaving gestural brushstroke marks so central to the Yugoslav abstraction of the 1950s. But soon after this exhibition, in the same year that he made these expressionist-inspired works, Logar also created a number of works that were heavily influenced by American Pop (Fig. 20: *The Key, linocut*), in a sharp turn that has been described by Yugoslav art historians as having abandoned the 'Slovene and Yugoslav artistic setting for the wider world'²⁷⁶. Logar was one of the few Yugoslav artists whose work was directly aligned with American Pop and who embraced screenprinting as soon as it became available in the country.²⁷⁷ His playful critique of

²⁷⁶ Lojze Logar. *Exhibition of Prints, 1967/1996*, Exhibition Catalogue, Galerija Tivoli, MGLC, 1996, Aleksander Bassin, p. 8

²⁷⁷ According to design historian and designer Dejan Krsic, screen printing in Zagreb was first introduced about in 1955/56 by the painters Zvonimir Melnjak and Zdenko Gradiš who each independently brought about this technique (Gradiš had studied in Canada and brought screen printing back upon his return). See Krsic's text in the catalogue of the exhibition 'Socialism and Modernity. Art Culture and Politics, 1950-1974' edited by Lilijana Kolečnik, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb, 2011, p 211). In Slovenia, according to Lojze Logar (interview by Lina Džuverović, June 2014) screenprinting was first introduced in the coastal town of Koper by the painter and graphic artists Apollonio Zvest, who later

consumerism, and focus on eroticism and the female body often manifested themselves in images of Coca-Cola bottles combined with outlines of female genitalia (Fig. 21: *Girl-Wind*, 1973, silkscreen). Coca-Cola bottles were often suggestive of a phallic symbol, which was in many paintings and screen prints shown in relationship to the outline of the female genitalia, suggesting penetration (Fig. 22: *Figura Cola*, 1971). The outline of female genitals as well as Coca-Cola bottles became tropes used by Logar's during this period, which he used in diverse ways across dozens of screen prints experimenting with composition, colour and shape. Logar also often depicted film actors and television personalities, bringing in news items of the time – Sophia Loren, Marilyn Monroe and Brigitte Bardot all feature in his prints from this period. For instance, in the work *For the Nobel Prize Winner H.K.* (1975), (Fig. 23), Logar referred to the news controversy at the time, most likely centred on an Austrian bio-chemist Richard Kuhn, who won the Nobel Prize despite his Nazi affiliations²⁷⁸.

Logar felt that the term Expressive Figuration did not correspond well with his work and instead, in the interview I conducted with him, proposed the term 'engaged figuration', in reference to his own social and political engagement which he felt to be central to his oeuvre.

5. What was Yugoslav about Yugoslav Pop Reactions?

The majority of the works I have analysed in this chapter have one common trait– they all draw on foreign, or what could be called global, or international iconography, and have very few elements that make them specifically

worked as a consultant to the academy and also installed a screen printing workshop there. (dates unknown, Logar claimed it is 1960s, but offered no precise date).

²⁷⁸ In an interview I conducted with Logar he explained that the initials in the title of the work referred to a Swedish biologist who won the Nobel Prize that year despite the fact that he had Nazi affiliations. However, the only person with initials H.K. who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 was Henry Kissinger whose prize was highly controversial. Kissinger, then the U.S. Secretary of State was a joint winner North Vietnamese leader Le Duc Tho who rejected the prize, on the grounds that that peace in South Vietnam had not yet been achieved. Meanwhile Kissinger did accept the award, which caused controversy. The Austrian bio-chemist Richard Kuhn (RK) also won the Nobel prize that year and it is possible that Logar's work refers to him. It also may be the case that Logar's reference to the Swedish scientist refers to Alfred Bernhard Nobel himself who was seen to be profiting from the sales of arms (dynamite being his most famous invention), which lead him to found and finance the Nobel Prize.

Yugoslav. In the opening chapter of this thesis I pointed to the useful question posed by the Hungarian art historian David Feher in relation to the broadening of Pop Art and the introduction of the category 'global Pop'. Feher asked: 'Does a 'homogenizing umbrella' term not eliminate the 'discrete otherness' of various local contexts?'²⁷⁹. The idea, proposed by Jessica Morgan that 'many pops' identified by the 'World Goes Pop' exhibition in 2015, are characterised by both a sense of shared preoccupations, but also an attentiveness to the local situations: *'this was global yet specific pop'*.²⁸⁰

In what follows I will propose that within the Yugoslav Pop Reactions landscape Dušan Otašević presented an exception to a more general pattern in that he focused on local imagery and problematics, over international themes.

6. Dušan Otašević- The Language Of Craft As a Form Of Resistance

Key elements of Yugoslav socialism were the development of working practices based around self-management and radical redistribution of property after the Second World War, from the private realm into the *social realm*. As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the most significant, but also most controversial achievements of Yugoslav socialism was the creation of the category of 'social property', introduced in the years following the establishment of Yugoslavia in 1945.²⁸¹ Yugoslavia therefore had three types of property: private, state and social, and the public discourse of self-management centred predominantly on the intricacies of developing effective systems for workers' governance of social property.

Despite a sweeping wave of nationalization, land reforms and confiscation of private property in mid 1940s, small businesses were still permitted in Yugoslavia. Cobblers, tailors, milliners, bakers, as well as land-owners with

²⁷⁹ David Fehrer, 'The 'Pop Problem' – Pop Art and East Central Europe', p. 121.

²⁸⁰ Jessica Morgan, *The World Goes Pop*, p. 15.

²⁸¹ The category of social property was met with much controversy both during the period of its creation, due to the technicalities of administering property with no title and the complexity of confiscation and redistribution of resources, but also in 1990s in the process of Yugoslav 'transition' into individual countries, and the process of privatization, in which in many cases property that was social was treated as it had been owned by the state.

less than 10 hectares of land were able to continue running their businesses, which were small enough for the work to be carried out by the owner, thus keeping the means of production and decision-making in the hands of the same person, avoiding any serious possibility of exploitation of the working class and the amassing of profit.²⁸² These small enterprises did therefore not pose a threat to the overall project of the development of the new models of socially owned enterprises, nor the mechanisms of self-management. This acceptance of private ownership on a small scale was precisely one of the distinguishing features of Yugoslav self-management, differentiating it from the Soviet model where such initiatives were not allowed.

What did it, then, mean for a young Yugoslav artist, living in such a sociopolitical climate, to deliberately turn away from the utopian promises of modernization and visions on the socialist public sphere, so prevalent in the public discourse, and to find inspiration in the dwindling realm of small, private-owned artisan businesses and their almost forgotten craftsmanship?

The Belgrade-born artist Dušan Otašević (1940) a painting graduate of the Belgrade Academy of Fine Arts (1966) began to distance himself from the rigid painting conventions of art informel (discussed above) that were being taught at the academy, already during his student days. His interests, instead, lay in the street vernacular, the aesthetics of small private-owned shops, and in the amateur, hand-crafted objects and signs, associated with mundane actions and ‘non-events’ (for instance taking one’s shoes to be repaired, buying bread, going to the barber), or even less remarkable actions of eating, personal hygiene and smoking.

The street life depicted in Otašević’s work had little to do with the aesthetics of 1960s socialist Yugoslavia, with its enthusiasm for collective work of rebuilding the country, its internationalism and the beginnings of pop culture. Otašević is from the generation that grew up surrounded by young people’s mass participation in Youth Work Actions (*Omladinska Radna Akcija* or *ORA*)

²⁸² Goran Marinkovic, *Stvaranje Drzavene I Drustvene Svojine na podrucju Srbije I Bivse Jugoslavije*, (*The Creation of State and Social Property on the territory of Serbia and former Yugoslavia*), Zbornik radova Građevinskog fakulteta, (Anthology of the works of the Faculty of Civil Engineering), *Subotica* 21, 2012, 135-147 (142).

– voluntary ‘work camps’ in which young people would gather to build roads and railways, for months at a time, living collectively in modest accommodation, with their social and cultural life organised within the work camp. (‘We are building the railway, the railway is building us’ is one of many slogans of such initiatives). Even if he did not partake in *ORA*, the discourse of collectivity marked his formative years. Otašević’s work, however, occupied a space far removed from the ethos of *ORA*, or from the foundations of self-management, his aesthetics provocatively located in the remnants of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia ruled by the Karađorđević dynasty.

The aesthetics of amateur, badly painted images on the streets of Belgrade attracted Otašević’s attention. He cites the use of ‘hand-made signs that hang over on craft shops’, ‘cooking poetry’ (a type of hand-embroidered motifs and rhymes popular in Central Europe, used as decoration in the kitchen) or fairground treats such as ‘gingerbread hearts’²⁸³ as some of the main motifs appropriated in his work. The focus on populist, functional, amateur art and craft that was a form of resistance against both the high modernism’s ‘schooled’ style of painting taught at the academy, and the political underpinnings of self-management.

Otašević’s resistance to the artistic climate he found himself in in the mid-1960s operated on three levels: in his choice of amateur art as source, in the destabilisation the dominant rhetoric of art as ‘elevated’ and separate from everyday life through his working methods and choice of non-art materials (which will be discussed further on in this chapter), and lastly in the political connotations embodied in his choice of imagery. The symbols Otašević found of interest would in 1965 (when he made the first works) have been read at best as outdated and irrelevant, given the country’s gradual exposure to contemporary global pop culture, and at worst as anti-communist and anti-revolutionary, given their ties with private businesses of the pre-war era. Otašević is fully aware that his work was ‘not really acceptable from the point of view of the social reality and politics of that time’.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Dušan Otašević Interview for the ‘The World Goes Pop’ catalogue. Translation Lina Džuverović.

²⁸⁴ Lina Džuverović, ‘An Interview with Dušan Otašević’, Belgrade, 22 February 2013. Translation from Serbian by Vesna Džuverović and Lina Džuverović.

For instance, the cooking rhymes²⁸⁵ Otašević turned to for inspiration are representative of some of the most conservative aspects of Yugoslav pre-war society, which the League of Communists vehemently sought to eradicate in the new Yugoslavia. Otašević points to his own background of growing up in a bourgeois home: ‘We grew up, not everyone, but a large number of us, in *građanske kuće* (urban homes or bourgeois homes) where on the walls of the kitchen you could still find cooking poetry,’²⁸⁶ going on to point to the Austro-Hungarian origin of this tradition. Amongst the most frequently encountered ‘cooking poetry’ one could find slogans such as: ‘Housewife, talk less so that the lunch you are making does not burn’ (*‘Domacice manje zbori da ti rucak ne zagori’*), or even more tellingly, a rhyme phrased as a question posed by housewife to her husband – the breadwinner, which says ‘Why are you looking into the saucepan now, when you have not given me any money’ (*‘Zasto gledas sad u lonac, kad mi nisi dao novac’*) (Fig. 24), indicating the inherent patriarchy of the custom. Such statements were at odds with the League of Communists rhetoric of gender equality (even if in the private realm, patriarchal inequality still reigned). Whilst Otašević’s interest in the cooking rhymes does not particularly focus on their content or messages, but the aesthetics of the naïve hand-embroidery, his turn to the amateur image indicates a resistance to, on the one hand the industrialisation and mechanisation of work – to Yugoslav modernising process, and on the other, the fetishisation of the art object.

Otašević’s 1965 work *Pušač (Smoker)*, (Fig. 25), for instance, depicts a slick, glossy painted mannequin head of a man, smoking a cigarette, positioned on a white plinth bearing a ‘smoking forbidden’ sign of a cigarette crossed out with a red cross. A similar mannequin head also appears in another Otašević work the following year – *Happy Pisser or Blue Jet Flooding* (1966) (Fig. 26), a head facing a mirrored corner as if in a male toilet, with a stream of blue water flowing down to the floor. Otašević’s mannequin heads represent city gentry –

²⁸⁵ In the interview I conducted with Otašević, he pointed to the fact that he recently discovered that Andy Warhol had a collection of ‘cooking poetry’ which is believed to be linked to Warhol’s Slovak origins (part of the Austro-Hungarian empire), which he found to be an interesting coincidence, especially as this was not a known fact when Otašević made his works inspired by ‘cooking poetry’.

²⁸⁶ Lina Džuverović, ‘An Interview with Dušan Otašević’, Belgrade, 22 February 2013. Translation from Serbian by Vesna Džuverović and Lina Džuverović.

well-groomed urban young men, customers that barber shops would have wanted to attract, and would represent in the vignettes embellishing their shop signs (see Fig. 27, as an example of a Belgrade shops from before WW2). Focusing on the urban gentlemen in his work was controversial at this time because of the overall emphasis on the worker as the main subject of self-management. The bourgeois gentlemen in Otašević's work are depicted similarly to the image of factory leaders (see the example of illustrations of workers and factory leaders in the management manual *Leadership as Interpersonal Relations* (Pavel Brajsa, 1984) (Fig. 28)). By locating his 'sphere of interest' in the bourgeois society of the past Otašević is not offering a nostalgic look at past times but articulating a rejection and a critique of the main principles of the Yugoslavia – the eradication of the class system and the emancipation of the worker.

Branislav Dimitrijević has interpreted Otašević's focus on the shabbily painted handmade artisan sign, as one of the first artistic interpretations of the rudimentary, underdeveloped form of consumerism in the country. Unlike American and British Pop artists who, Dimitrijević claims, 'developed an attitude toward the entire set-up of the media-consumer order of contemporary capitalism',²⁸⁷ Otašević's choice was reduced to 'a state of lack of these references'.²⁸⁸ Dimitrijević dubs Otašević's brand of Pop 'DIY POP' which is characterized by the artist's confrontation of incoming Western mass consumer images and adverts, with the craftsmanship of early-modern objects.

Unlike Dimitrijević who sees Otašević's work as an articulation of a nascent, underdeveloped form of capitalism, I argue that Otašević's focus does not lie in an articulation of the not-yet-fully-formed consumerism, but in a deliberate rejection of the increasingly mechanized consumer image and the socialist-consumerist present, in favour of a hand-crafted aesthetics and values that were being gradually erased in the new Yugoslavia. Rather than focusing on the present conditions of a new society in development, Otašević simultaneously rejects the 'modern traditionalism' (to use Lazar Trifunovic's term) of art

²⁸⁷ Branislav Dimitrijević and Marina Martić, (eds), Dušan Otašević, - *Popmodernism, A Retrospective Exhibition, 1965 - 2003*, (Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2003), p. 108.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

informel taught during his studies, and the enthusiasm of socialist rebuilding with its gradually encroaching pop culture. Instead, his images appropriate the aesthetics of bourgeois society and its traditional trades. Whilst Dimitrijević proposes that Otašević's work interprets 'the specific situation in which Yugoslav socialist society found itself in the course of the 1960's',²⁸⁹ expressing a 'tactical ambivalence' towards it, I argue that his work is not so much an interpretation, as a sharp critique – a rejection of the 'specific situation' created by Yugoslav socialism, lamenting the loss of the bourgeois society of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Suggesting that Otašević's aesthetics represent Yugoslavia's underdeveloped capitalism would lead us to conclude that the Yugoslav everyday lacked the presence of global brands and symbols of popular culture. By looking at Otašević's decidedly local-inspired work, one could conclude that Coca-Cola, Levi's or Marilyn Monroe were not recognizable symbols of global consumerism and pop culture in Yugoslavia. In actual fact, the Yugoslav media space was by 1965 already filled with global consumer imagery, which many artists readily appropriated, but no such icons appear in Otašević's work.

It is important to note that Otašević's had the possibility to, but chose not to incorporate imagery associated with global pop culture in his work. The absence of global consumer icons in Otašević's work is certainly not a result of their absence from Yugoslav public space, but the artist's choice to turn to the familiar and the local. Yugoslav nascent consumerism may have been underdeveloped, as Dimitrijević claims, but it in no way lacked globally recognizable consumerist symbols. American films, foreign magazines (even if only accessed in reading rooms), newest records all made their way into Yugoslavia, with little, or no delay from their appearance in the West by the mid 1960s (as was discussed in previous chapters). These icons were well-known, if necessarily not always available. As Dimitrijević himself points out, the lack of easy availability of foreign products in shops meant that in Yugoslavia such icons were experienced via a desire, an 'active search'

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

granting them a 'specific aura'.²⁹⁰ (He goes on to give an example of the aura acquired by the Beatles or Rolling Stones albums brought into a small town for the first time). Their aura and their 'ghostly presence' in Yugoslav daily life would, in fact, have rendered them even more desirable as subjects, should this have been Otašević's interest.

In Serbo-Croat, an artist who paints— a painter, is called *slikar*, whilst a painter-decorator is distinguished from *slikar* by a prefix that renders the term self-explanatory by naming that which is being painted— a room, for example. A *slikar* who paints a room is a *soboslikar* – literally a room painter, he/she who paints rooms.

The elements that comprise the action of painting, with the aim of producing an object called a painting— a work of art— are not in their essence different from the series of actions involved in painting a room. Wet paint is applied to a dry surface. It is applied until the desired effect has been achieved. It is then left to dry. The same can be said for the making of a functional object, as well as a sculpture.

This is precisely the point that Dušan Otašević aims to make in his refusal to refer to himself as a *slikar* – instead, in referring to his own activities as those of a *soboslikar*, using the language, and material, associated with craft, not art. In using the terminology of one, but remaining positioned within another (Otašević does not refuse to belong to the structures of art, and continues to exhibit in the art context), Otašević shifts the meaning of the work, from that which happens within the canvas, to the canvas as an object in the world.

Otašević's appropriation of the matter-of-fact, functional language is matched by his use of non-art material (glossy spray paint instead of oil paint and brushes, wood and aluminium boards instead of canvas, etc) influencing the form of the finished work, which was neither a painting nor a sculpture, but simply an object.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, pg 108.

7. Looking Beyond the Border

The broad category that I have named Yugoslav Pop Reactions comprised heterogeneous practices by artists who embraced figuration, and in some cases sought inspiration in the fresh and dynamic look that Pop Art introduced. Pop's language and motifs were an attractive new direction for Yugoslav artists fatigued with lingering out-of-date formalism imposed by the local art system to which they no longer wished to adhere. Hungry for ways to embed their own daily experiences of pop culture, television and urban life into their art, these artists readily embraced elements of Pop, testing out Pop techniques and material in a variety of ways.

With the exception of the work of Dušan Otašević whose aesthetics borrowed from craft and turned to pre-Yugoslav signs and imagery, works discussed in this chapter were more about adaptations of foreign influences and motifs than about the exploration or discovery of domestic issues. Overall, Pop Reactions revealed little about life in Yugoslavia, and did not wish to dwell on the realities of the changing socialist environment, looking beyond the border in a desire for Yugoslav art to move closer to international trends.

Associations with Pop Art were important for some, like Olja Ivanjicki, and evident in the work of others, such as Lojze Logar and Metka Krašovec, but were of less interest to others, for instance Zmago Jeraj whose 'dark realism' shared little with Pop Art's brash optimism and humour, being more focussed on exploring existential questions through figuration. The multitude of practices grouped as Pop Reactions catalysed a break with tradition, bringing forth a fresh and innovative approach found in figuration. Disturbing and shaking up an art environment that was becoming stale, they sought change, but fully focused on change within art, on a formal level.

By contrast, the next chapter will focus on Countercultural Pop artists, another constellation of practitioners who also engaged with Pop tendencies, but with different ambitions and from a different perspective. These artists' practices

engaged in the challenging project of interrogating the place of art in Yugoslav socialism and questioned their own position within that system.

8. Chapter 5 Illustrations



Figure 1.

The opening of the Pop Art exhibition by Olja Ivanjicki at the Gallery Graphics Collective, (1964)

ТВ — ШАНСА ОЉЕ ИВАЊИЦКИ

После годину дана безуспешних покушаја да заинтересује неку галерију за своје поп-артистичке скулптуре од кофера и фиока, Оља Ивањицки је добила позив од РТ Загреб да приреди изложбу пред ТВ-камерама.

Публика је шокирана као и обично. А уметници: једни се зграђају, други одушевљавају, како је то већ ред кад треба прихватити или обрачунати се — са новим које смењује етаро.

За то време, „популарна (или народна) уметност“, звана кратко поп-арт, упознаје свет са својим производима од згњечених конзерви, хаварисаних и пресованих аутомобила, сендвича завијених у најлон фишке и свим могућим и немогућим отпацима људског битисања. Поход — можда је боље рећи инвазија нове уметности — муњевита, експанзивна, чак и сензационална, почиње да личи на тријумф уметника који су се усудили, дрско и без обзирно, да у поштовани оквир, вековима испуњаван само платнима, уљаним бојама и сличним материјалима, окаче излизане фармерке или пуњеног орла.

Тријумф — јер је оснивач поп-арта Американац Роберт Раушенберг, освојио на последњој великој изложби светског сликарства и вајарства (Вије-



На пут у Загреб са
поп-арт кофером

Figure 2.

A newspaper cutting featuring an image of Olja Ivanjicki and one of her 'Pop Art suitcases', *Ekspres*, Belgrade, (1964)



Figure 3.

Spaljivanje Lutke Dvojnice, Gallery of the Graphic Collective, *Burning down of the Doppelganger Doll*, (1965)



Figure 4.

Body Art, Olja Ivanjicki being 'body painted' by Leonid Sejka, (1960s)



Figure 5.

Olja Ivanjicki, *Nesto Je Ostro Kao Zilet* (*Something, as Sharp as a Razor Blade*) (1965)



Figure 6.

Robert Rauschenberg, *Retroactive II*, (1964)

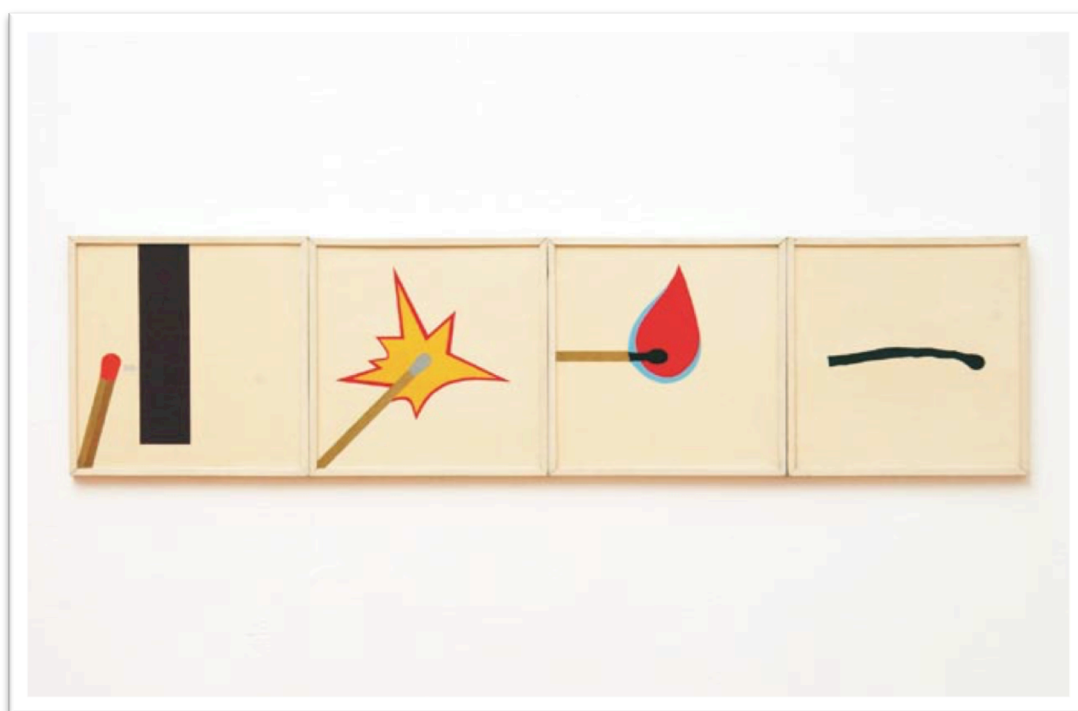


Figure 7.

Dušan Otašević, *Poliptih*, (1966), shown in 'Nova Figuracija Beogradskog Kruga'

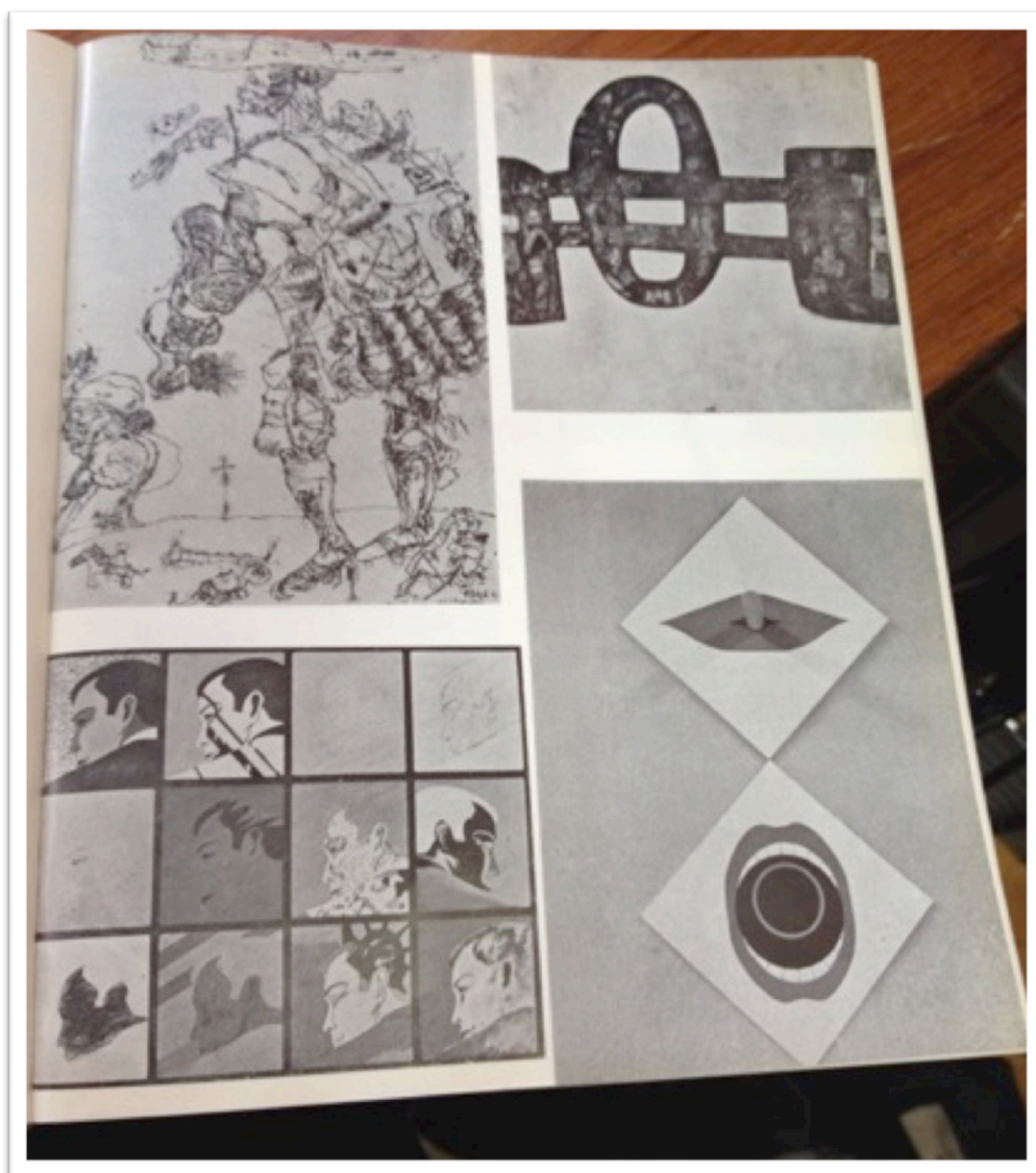


Figure 8.

Umetnost: page 19 from *Umetnost 6*, (1966)

Bottom Right: A reproduction of Dušan Otašević's, *Diptih* (1966), oil on board

Bottom Left: A reproduction of Dragos Kalajić, *Oprosti Za Tako Dugi Pogled* (*Forgive Such a Long Gaze*)(1965), oil on board



Figure 9.

Dragos Kalajić, *72.5% Dnevnik 178, (72.5% Diary 178)*, (1964)



Figure 11.

Dragos Kalajić, *Proust* (1967)



Figure 10.

Mario Schifano, *Io son infatile* (1965)

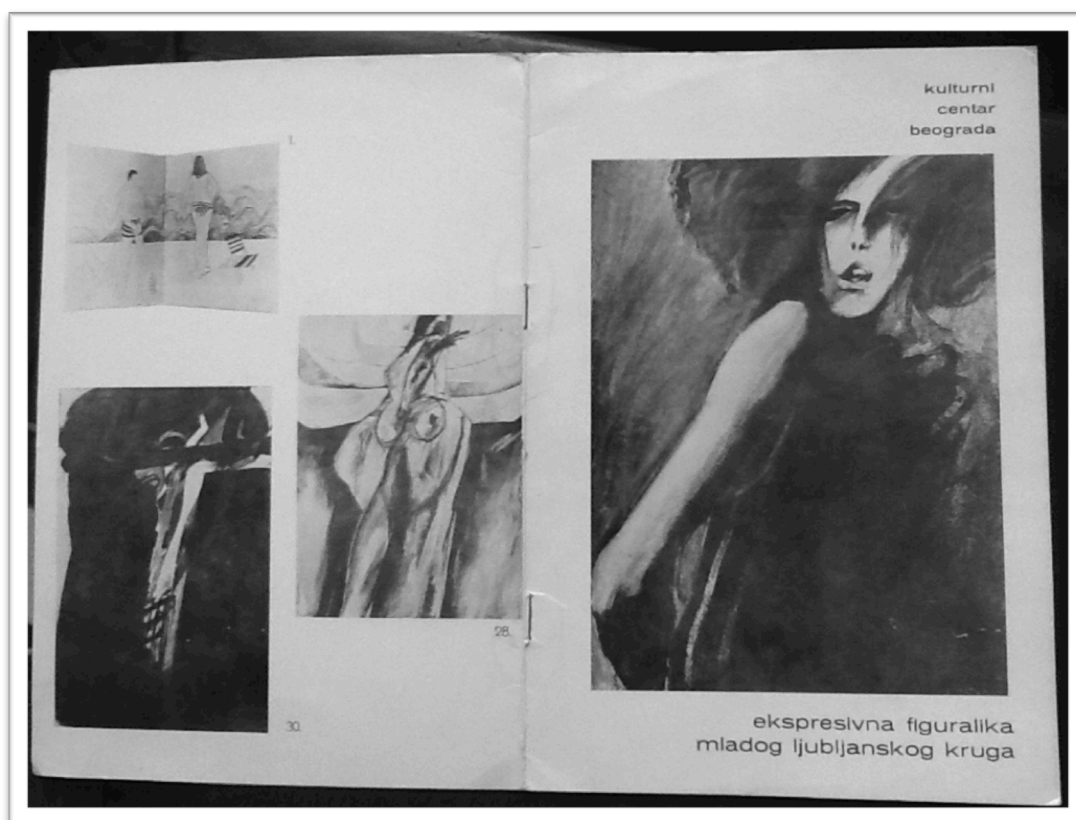


Figure 12.

Front and Back cover of the catalogue for the exhibition 'Expressive Figuration of the Ljubljana Circle', held at Belgrade's Cultural Centre, Galerija Kulturnog Centra Beograda in 1968, curated by Aleksander Bassin.

Middle: (28) Lojze Logar, *Figure V*, (1968), acrylic

Sreco Dragan, *Diptihon*, (1968), oil pastel

Top Left: (bottom right)

(30) Ladislav Pengov – Figure with the Blue Sign (1968), oil; (bottom left);

Front cover – Kostja Gatnik, *Slike IV* (Picture IV) (1968), oil. (right-hand page)



Figure 13.

Metka Krašovec, *Kokosja Juha – Sporocilo* (*Chicken Soup– The Message*), (1968), acrylic

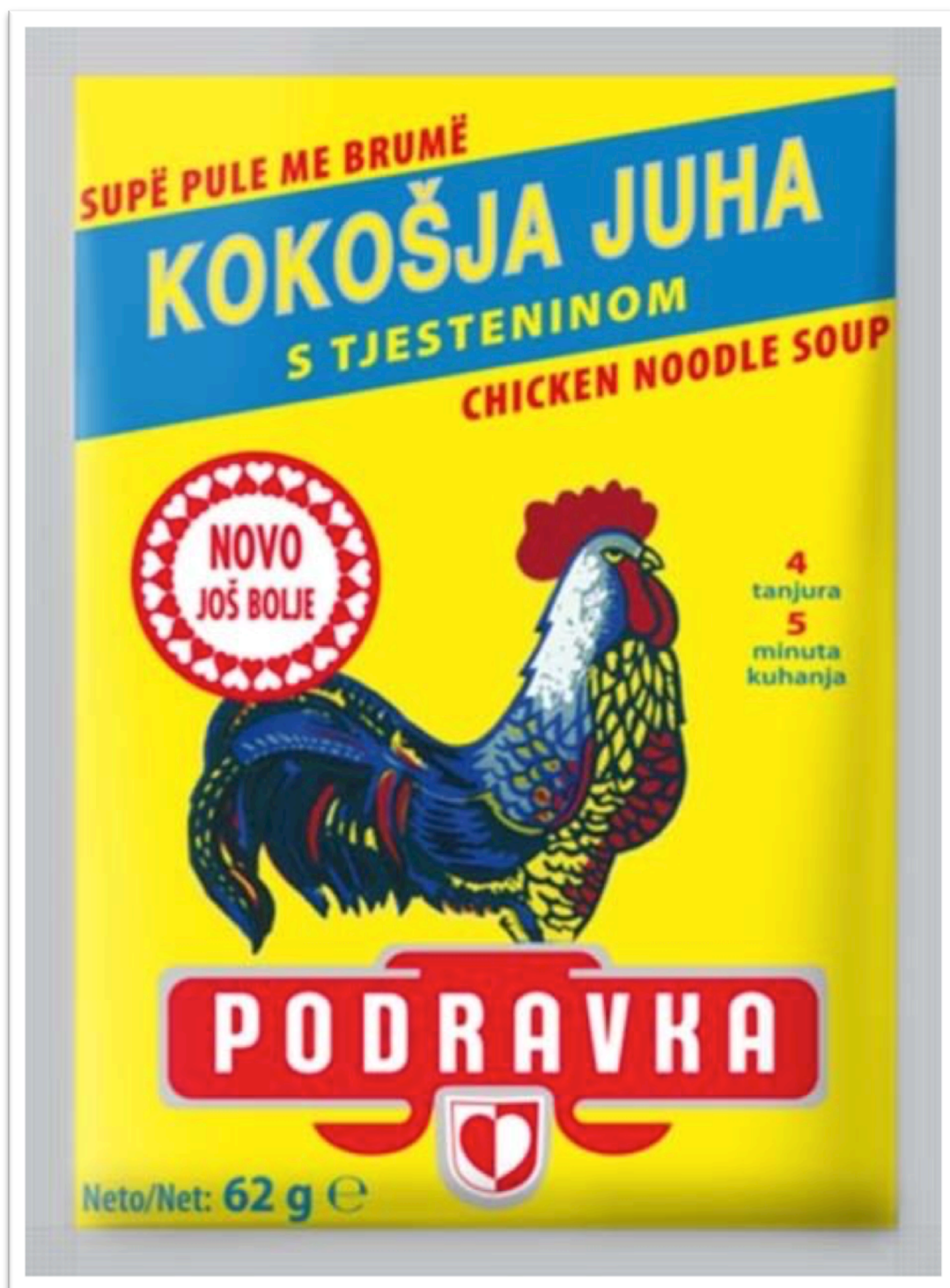


Figure 14.

Contemporary packaging of the Podravka chicken soup, (2016)



Figure 15.

Metka Krašovec, *Interier (Kredenca)*, (*Interior [of the cupboard]*), (1971), oil on canvas

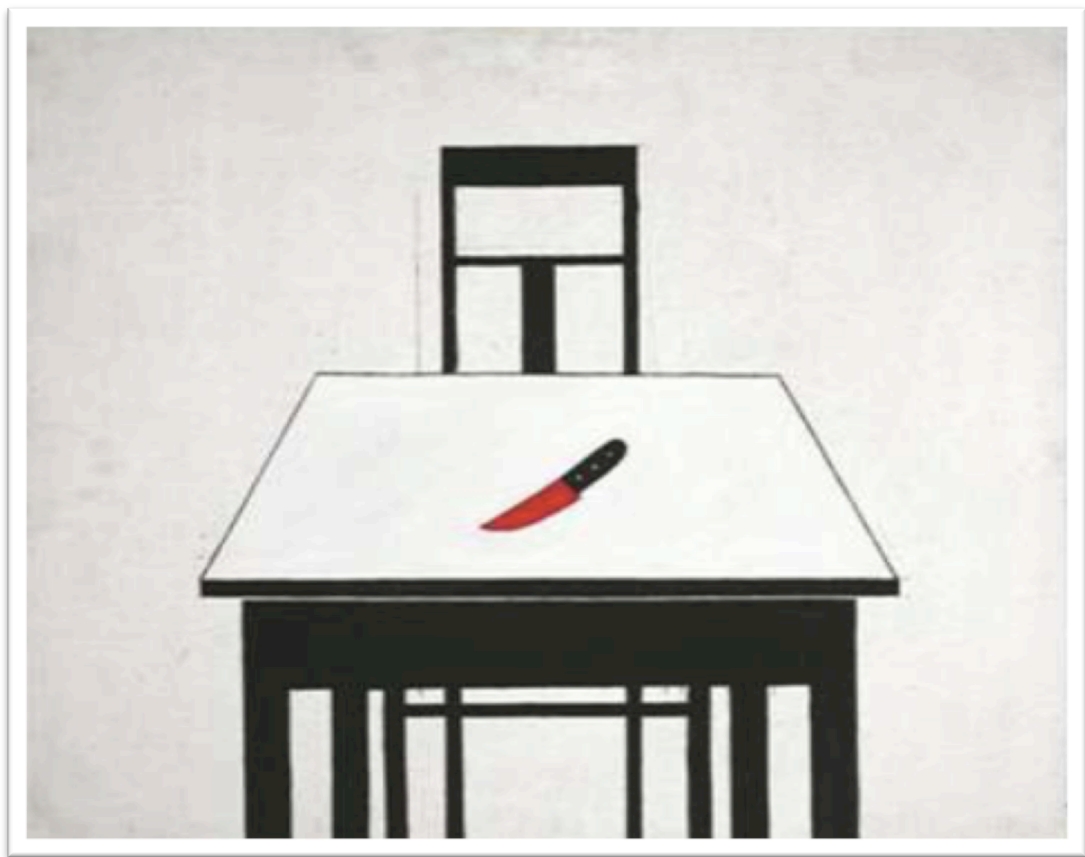


Figure 16.

Zmago Jeraj, *Noz (The Knife)*, (1967), acrylic on canvas



Figure 18.

Zmago Jeraj, *Portret (Portrait)*, (1968), oil



Figure 17.

Zmago Jeraj, *Untitled*, (1968), acrylic

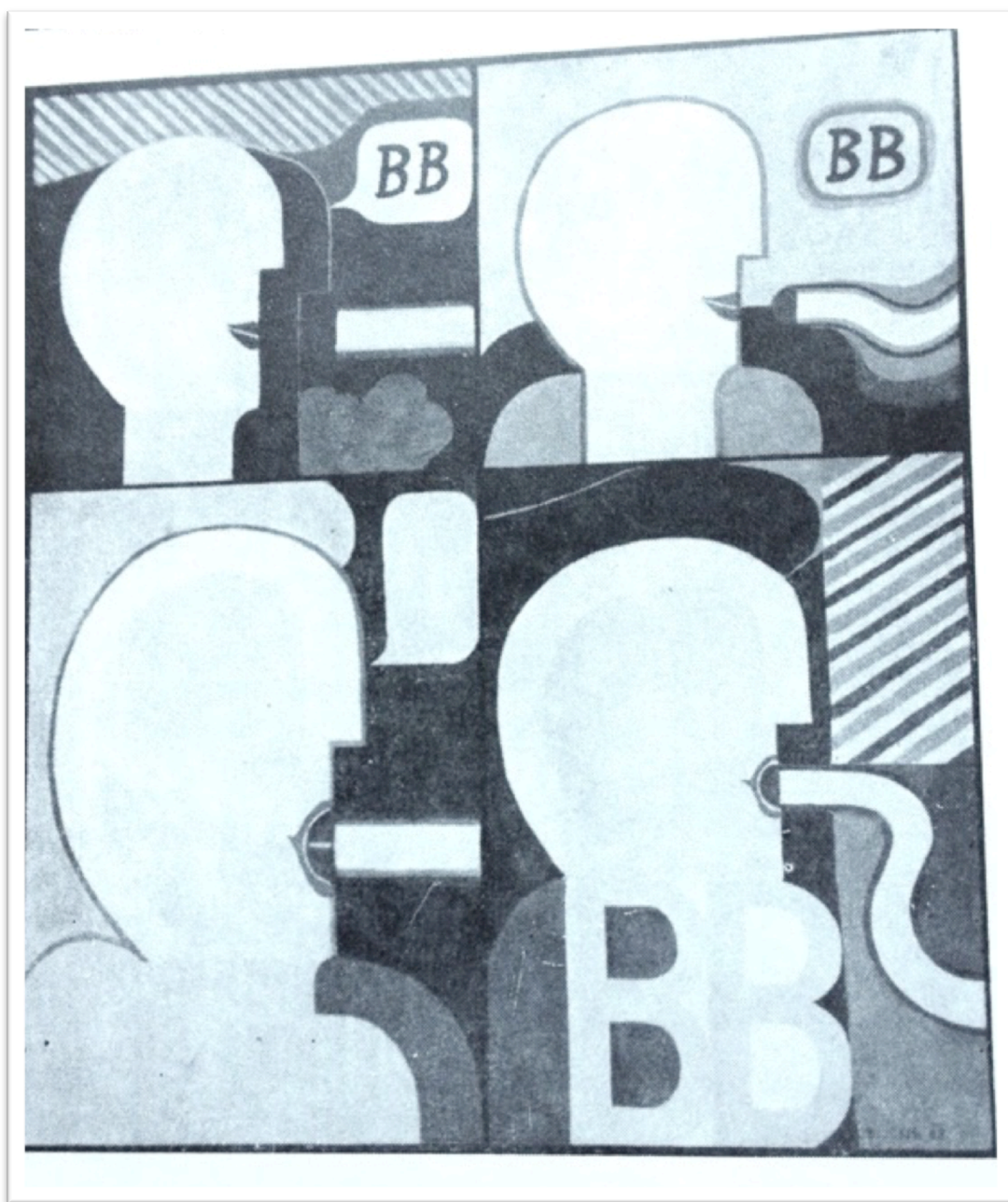


Figure 19.

Boris Jesih, *Upotrebljavajte Ruz Za Usne BB* (You should use lipstick BB), (1968)



Figure 20.

Lojze Logar, *The Key*, (1968)



Figure 21.

Lojze Logar, *Girl-Wind*, (1973)



Figure 22.

Lojze Logar, *Figura-Cola*, (1971)

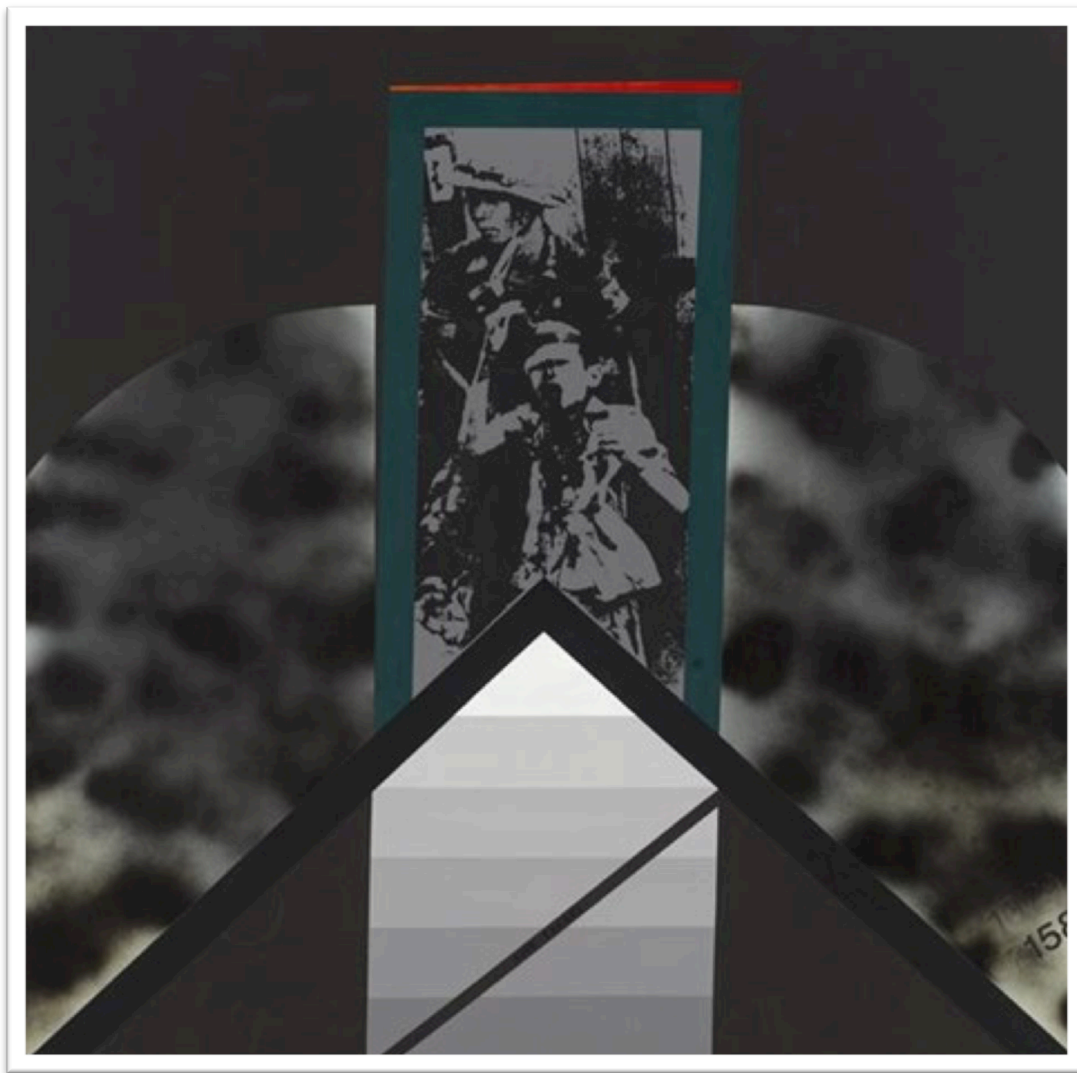


Figure 23.

Lojze Logar, *Za nobelovca R.K. 1975* (*For Nobel Prize Winner R.K.*), (1975), painting on linen (?)



Figure 24.

Top: Cooking Poetry from the former Yugoslavia. The text reads 'Cook, talk less so that your lunch does not burn', and is one of the best known cooking rhymes.

Bottom: Cooking Poetry from the former Yugoslavia. The text reads 'Why are you now looking inside the saucepan, when you did not give me any money (for lunch) earlier'.



Figure 25.

Dušan Otašević, *Pušać*, (1965), stained wood and plaster

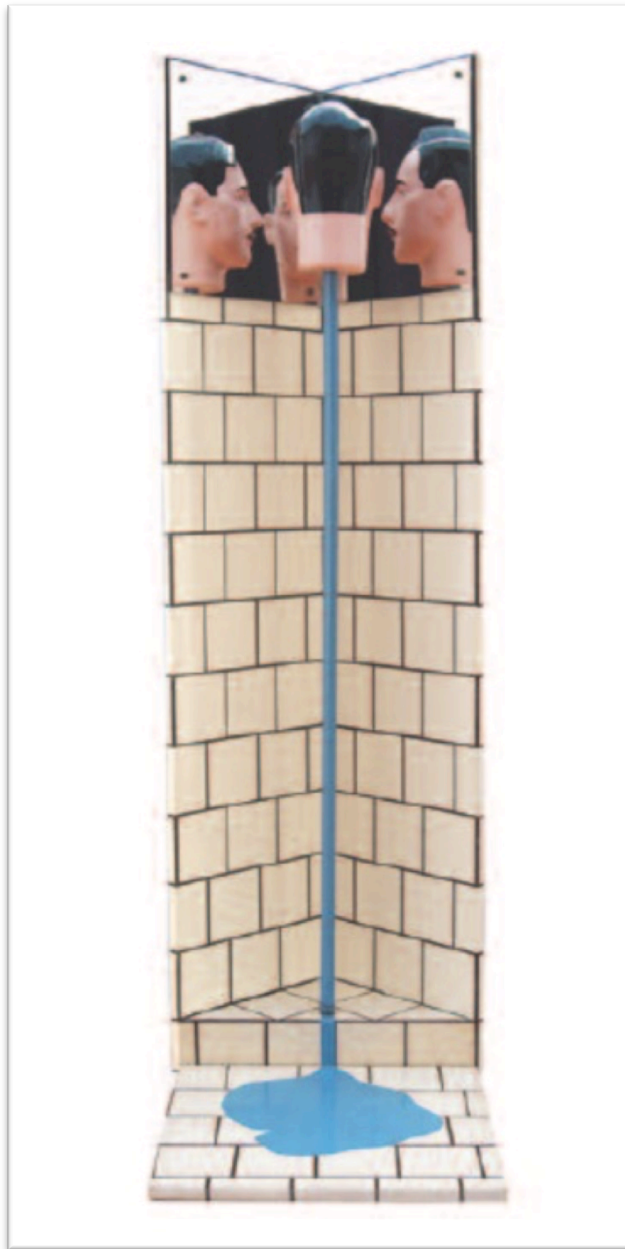


Figure 26.

Dušan Otašević, *Happy Pisser or Blue Jet Flooding*, (1966), painted wood, plaster, mirror



Figure 27.

Top: Belgrade shop signs

Bottom; Hairdresser and a butcher

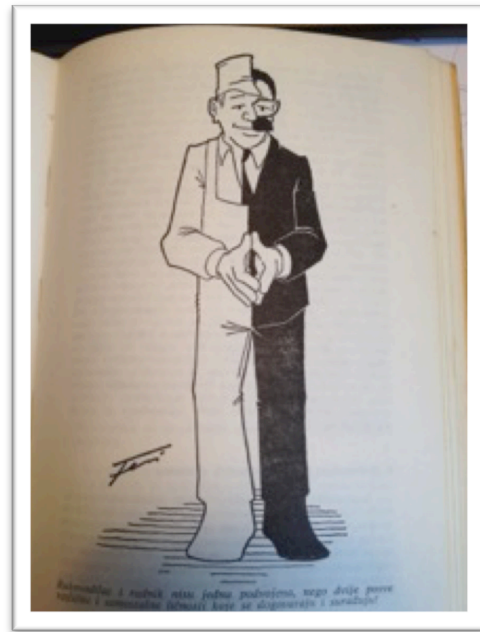
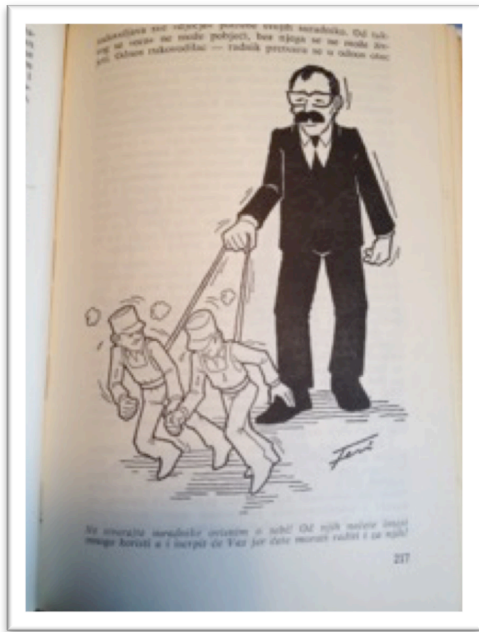


Figure 28.

Illustration by Kresimir Ferinac, in Pavao Brajsa, *Leadership as Interpersonal Relations*, (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1985)

CHAPTER 6 - Critical Pop: The Absent Presence Of Tito

1. *'The delay will be exhibited'* – Mića Popović's Censored Exhibition

On the evening of 6 June 1974, several hundred people gathered in front of Belgrade's Cultural Centre gallery (KCB) located on Knez Mihajlova Street, to attend the opening of an exhibition by the painter and film-maker Mića Popović. Following a short delay, the invitees, waiting in front of the gallery, began to wonder why the gallery doors were still shut. Eventually, a representative of the Cultural Centre appeared and addressed the crowd, announcing that the exhibition was not going to open that evening and was going to be delayed. As it happened, nerves got the better of the speaker and he allegedly accidentally announced that the 'delay will be exhibited', instead of the intended statement announcing that 'the exhibition will be delayed'.²⁹¹ This event, complete with its comical turn, has become something of a myth in Yugoslav art circles, pieced together through eye-witness stories and various written accounts.²⁹² This was, looking back, the only exhibition in Yugoslavia ever to be censored before it even opened.

Popović's exhibition never saw the light of day, and the only works that audiences had the chance to see were the few paintings that could be gleaned

²⁹¹ In Serbo-Croat the statement 'the exhibition has been delayed' can easily be mispronounced as the words exhibition (*Izložba*) and delay (*odložena*) share a number of letters. Therefore '*Izložba je odložena*' was mispronounced as '*Odložba je izložena*'.

²⁹² There is little formal documentation about this exhibition and numerous versions of events are circulating. My sources included newspaper articles published in newspapers as well as several descriptions of the events around this exhibition by art historians. Sources: Jovan Despotovic: 'Svečana slika nekad i sad; Mali čovek Miće Popovića u velikom vremenu', ('Formal Painting' then and now; Mića Popović's small man in big times'), *Književne novine*, 1.5.1998, p. 10, from Despotovic's website: <http://www.jovandespotovic.com/?page_id=1982>, last accessed 29 December 2016; Milica Dimitrijević, 'Забрањена „Свечана слика” поново пред публиком', ('The forbidden 'Ceremonial Painting' in front of audiences again'), *Politika*, 10.05.2012, website of the *Politika* newspaper, <<http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/218222/Zabranjena-Svečana-slika-ponovo-pred-publikom>> (In particular the eye-witness account by the art historian Nikola Kusovac), last accessed, 29 December 2016; Bojana Pejić's account of the exhibition in her doctoral thesis *The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power the SFR Yugoslavia (1945-1991)* (Oldenburg: The Carl von Ossietzky University, 2005); and Branislav Jakovljevic, *Alienation Effects - Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945 – 91*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

through the gallery's windows that evening.²⁹³ The crowd continued to loiter in front of the KCB gallery for some time, giving passers-by the impression that a demonstration had been staged, a form of protest against the decision to not open the exhibition.²⁹⁴

The last minute prohibition came as a directive from the League of Communists officials, who instructed the Gallery Director not to open the show, due to its controversial content. The most contentious piece was a painting entitled *Svečana Slika (Ceremonial Painting)* (1974) (Fig. 1), depicting Marshall Tito and his wife Jovanka Broz in the company of the Dutch Royal Family. The source for the painting had been a newspaper photograph, which had appeared in Yugoslav newspapers four years earlier, documenting a formal dinner organized in Tito's honour by Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, held at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3). Compositionally the painting remained close to the original photograph following conventions of staged, formal portraiture of royalty and dignitaries. But the set-up was disturbed by the sitters' tense, almost grimacing expressions, with Tito gazing into the distance with a look of absent-minded concern. The faces were painted in greyscale which was in contrast with the red, gold and blue details of the opulent evening outfits, accessories and royal sashes.

Popović also included another, similarly conceived painting in this exhibition. This was a painting of the cover of *Svet (The World)* magazine dated 13 August 1971, depicting Tito and Richard Burton on a casual stroll through a zoo, walking past a giraffe (Fig. 4). The work was entitled *Ričard Titovog lika (Richard in the likeness of Tito)* (1974), and, like *Svečana Slika*, made a point of depicting Tito in glamorous company, sharing his leisure time with a famous Hollywood actor, most likely showing him around his zoo on the islands of Brijuni, which was only accessible to Tito's inner circle.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ A small number of people close to the artist and the staff of KCB were given tours, but the doors of the exhibition never opened to the public.

²⁹⁴ From 'An Interview with Bojana Pejić', Berlin, 12 February 2014.

²⁹⁵ As explained in Chapter Two, Richard Burton was at the time frequently seen in Yugoslav media as he was shooting the film *Sutjeska* (released 1973) in which he played Tito. Tito was closely involved in the making of *Sutjeska* and in the process became friendly with Burton and his wife Elizabeth Taylor.

As if the depiction of the socialist leader in luxurious surroundings in the company of royalty and Hollywood stars was not enough, the juxtaposition of these images with another body of Popović's work, comprising a number of paintings of *Gvozden – čovek koji putuje* (*Gvozden – the man who travels*) in which he represented the life of a *gasterbeiter*²⁹⁶ – proved to be too controversial (Fig. 5). With over 800 000 Yugoslav economic migrants living and working abroad in 1969, *gastarbeiter* were sometimes referred to as Yugoslavia's seventh republic, due to their significant numbers.²⁹⁷ The series of paintings of *Gvozden* (which Popović continued into the 1980s) alongside a series of paintings entitled *Scene (Scenes)* (Fig. 6) depicting poverty and deprivation through a series of still lifes, highlighted Yugoslavia's economic difficulties in no uncertain terms. The suggestions created by the juxtaposition of the opulence of the leader and the realities of Yugoslav people's economic migration embodied in the figure of the *gastarbeiter*, were simply too provocative and too explicitly critical, highlighting the economic divide and implying the hypocrisy of the ruling elite.

2. Newspaper Images As Raw Data

The use of newspaper photographs as a source for painting, as deployed by Popović in many of the works in this exhibition, was by 1974 already a well-established Pop Art strategy used by artists in the West, but was still rather unusual in Yugoslavia. (Although, as outlined in Chapter Seven, a small number of 'Pop Reactions' artists across Ljubljana and Belgrade used this approach, mostly focusing on the female body – a less contentious subject

²⁹⁶ *Gastarbeiter* is the German term for foreign or guest workers which came to the country in 1970s from eastern Europe. Other Western countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland all had similar programmes. It refers to foreign or migrant workers, particularly those who had moved to West Germany (BRD) mainly in the 1960s and 1970s, seeking work as part of a formal guest worker programme (*Gastarbeiterprogramm*). In 1969 there were approximately 800 000 Yugoslav workers abroad, 22% of Yugoslav domestic employment and by 1973 - 75, 150 000 of them had returned home as their situation abroad worsened due to the economic downturn in northern Europe. See Dennisson I. Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948 - 1974* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 25, and Susan L. Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945 - 1990* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 198 - 200.

²⁹⁷ Eva Mazierska, 'Old School Capitalism in Post-socialism - The Struggles of Želimir Žilnik's Workers', in Alexandra Juhasz and Alisa Lebow (Eds.), *A Companion to Contemporary Documentary Film*, (: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), pp. 176 - 190.

matter from the point of view of the authorities.) Richard Hamilton's work *Swingeing London '67* (1968/9) for instance, used as its source a photograph from *The Daily Mail* depicting his gallerist Robert Fraser handcuffed to Mick Jagger, shedding a light not only on London's vibrant celebrity culture, but also commenting on the media sensationalism and the conservative backlash against the liberalisation of the era (both Jagger and Fraser were convicted on drugs charges).²⁹⁸

Newspaper photographs, snapshots, adverts and archival images, no longer functioned as a secondary source, but as 'raw data' used to depict current events, as framed by the media.²⁹⁹ More than simply being a prop used to set up and sketch out painterly compositions (as photographs had historically been used in painting), the very properties of media as source material in their own right become central to the works. Often incorporating distortion present in the newspaper image, painting in grisaille, or representing newspaper folds, printing glitches, blurs or elements surrounding the image, these works were more interested in the mediation of current events, than the events themselves. As Gerhard Richter pointed out: 'Photography had to be more relevant to me than art history; it was an image of my, our, present day reality. I did not take it as a substitute for reality but as a crutch to help me to get to reality.'³⁰⁰

Artists using media sources were not seeking to mimic journalistic reportage but to, as argued by Rugoff, engage in what was a 'sophisticated play with pictorial conventions'. This meant imbuing even the most casual snapshot with a new gravity – addressing not only the fast-changing world in which they

²⁹⁸ Ralph Rugoff, 'Painting of Modern Life', in *The Painting of Modern Life 1960s to Now*, (London: Hayward Publishing, 2007), p. 10.

²⁹⁹ In his essay 'Painting of Modern Life' Ralph Rugoff identifies artists' use of newspaper photographs as an early 1960s phenomenon, manifesting itself independently in the work of Gerhard Richter in Cologne, Andy Warhol and Richard Artschwager in New York, as well as citing Vija Celmins' 1965 *Time* magazine cover (1965) depicting the LA Riots, as an example of this phenomenon. catalogue, The Hayward, London, UK 4 – October – 30 December 2007, and Castello di Rivoli, Museum of Contemporary Art, Turin, Italy, 6 February – 4 May 2008, Hayward Publishing, Southbank Centre, UK, 2007, p 10

³⁰⁰ Rugoff quotes Gerhard Richter from an interview in 1972, in the essay 'Painting of Modern Life'; 'From 'The Painting of Modern Life 1960s to Now' Exhibition catalogue, The Hayward, London, UK 4 – October – 30 December 2007, and Castello di Rivoli, Museum of Contemporary Art, Turin, Italy, 6 February – 4 May 2008, Hayward Publishing, Southbank Centre, UK, 2007, p 10

were living but ‘also the phenomenon of how that world was being was represented’.³⁰¹

The incorporation of newspapers and magazines brought images of celebrities, accidents, disasters and acute political moments onto the canvas. Newspaper images were central to Andy Warhol's 'Death in America' series, which Hal Foster analysed from a psychoanalytic point of view claiming that the Barthesian ‘punctum’, or Lacanian ‘tuche’ – elements which ‘shoot out’ and ‘rupture’ the scene, engaging the viewer, produce what he called a ‘shocked subject’.³⁰² According to Foster, a rupture occurs not in the image but in the subject, who, touched by an image, becomes a shocked subject, unable to process the image before them. Further defining the rupture as a form of confusion ‘between subject and world, inside and outside’, Foster argued that it is the gap between perception and consciousness that produces trauma. While in Barthes’ writing the *punctum* occurs on the level of content (for instance a detail of clothing in a group photograph which provokes a reaction), in Warhol, Foster claims, it is produced through technique – repetition, colour, erasure (bleaching and blanking), tearing and mistakes, while, for instance in Gerhard Richter’s work the rupture occurs through the blurring of the image.

Viewing Popović’s paintings through the lens of ‘traumatic realism’, the trauma, or shock, is produced through the discomfort created in the shift in context and scale. In other words, Popović’s technique destabilised the perceived identity of the ‘communist body’ that was Tito, to use a term introduced by the Yugoslav art historian and curator Bojana Pejić. Pejić argued that Tito was the first ‘communist body’, constructed both through portraits which were present in everyday spaces already during the National Liberation War, as well as through his symbolic ‘presence’ achieved through the use of his name. Here, by introducing the concept of the ‘communist body’ Pejić refers to the influential 1957 book by the historian of medieval political and intellectual history and art Ernst H. Kantorowicz, who asserted that the monarch’s body exists at two levels, or rather that in the Middle Ages the

³⁰¹ Ibid, p.10.

³⁰² Hal Foster, ‘Death in America’, in Gilda Williams, (Ed), *ON&BY Andy Warhol*; pp 175 – 189.

persona of the monarch was understood across two realms– a physical and spiritual one. The physical body, Kantorowicz argued, carried physical characteristics like any other body– living, getting ill and dying– while the leader's spiritual body exists on a cognitive plane, brought into being as an idea constructed through religious and legal traditions, producing the concept of a 'king'. This other, spiritual body continues to live after their death, in a form of legacy of the leader's rule.³⁰³

Installed in Partisans' headquarters, Tito's portraits, during the Second World War began to construct the larger-than-life Tito, firmly establishing his presence in the daily life of Yugoslav people – beginning to construct a cult of personality. This, Pejić continues, was complemented by his emergence in symbolic form. 'Tito' was the first word children would learn to write at school. Equally, it was his name spelled collectively by choreographing young performers in the *slet* (rallies) during national celebrations (Fig. 7). Pejić argued that the 'effect of presence', be it in symbolic or iconic form, actively contributed to the way the idea, or the collective imagery called 'Tito' was constructed, in what she termed 'an exchange of the power of the image and the image of power'.³⁰⁴

The shocked subject which in Warhol is produced through repetition, in Popović's paintings is produced by 'blowing up' – enlarging– and by framing differently, the lived realities of Yugoslav difficult present, a framing that was unfamiliar in an environment of pervasive political propaganda. The discomfort that emerges from the discrepancy between Popović's depiction of Tito (and the fact that these images possessed a level of veracity, being based on newspaper sources) and the image of Tito embedded in public consciousness functions as, to return to Hal Foster, 'the rupture between perception and consciousness of a subject *touched* by an image'.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

³⁰⁴ Bojana Pejić, *The Communist Body: Politics Of Representation And Spatialization Of Power In Sfr Yugoslavia (1945-1991)*, Doctoral Thesis; (The Carl von Ossietzky University in Oldenburg, Germany, 2005).

³⁰⁵ Hal Foster, 'Death in America', in Gilda Williams, (Ed), *ON&BY Andy Warhol*; pp 175 – 189.

Secondly, in the case of Popović's exhibition this disbelief was reinforced through a curatorial intervention (by the artist himself), the juxtaposition of the paintings of Tito with images of *gastarbeiter* and those suggestive of food shortages.

Popović, somewhat disingenuously, claimed in an 1971 interview about his 'Scenes' series that he was simply interested in witnessing, presenting himself as an impartial observer: 'I wish only to WITNESS! [...] I would like to take part and to witness. I do not wish to take anything, not even a position. I do not need to.'³⁰⁶ Reminiscent of Andy Warhol's desire to erase himself from his work articulated in his statement 'I want to be a machine', Popović's declaration of neutrality reads like a necessary proclamation of 'innocence', wishing to appear as an impartial observer of reality.³⁰⁷ But the closing sentence: 'I do not need to.' actually achieves the opposite effect, suggesting a high level of criticality in its implication that it is enough for an artist to simply point to what is clearly a problematic reality, in order to for it to become apparent. Of course, Popović's careful selection of subject matter, in combination with each other, provided a deliberate, knowing, rupture with the collective image of Tito and Yugoslavia. Both Popović's statement and his work contained the ambivalence present in much Pop Art, whereby works could be read both as celebration and a critique of issues.

Despite his desire to appear neutral, after the incident of the unopened exhibition, Popović became known as a critic of the Yugoslav system. Being labelled as dissident could prove strategically useful, as was pointed out by Bojana Pejić when talking about the case of Popović's exhibition. His name, Pejić claimed, began to function as a form of shorthand used by those wishing to indicate their dissatisfaction with the Yugoslav system, without doing so

³⁰⁶ This statement is quoted as part of a chapter about Popović as part of a group of dissidents intellectuals in Nick Miller, 'Nonconformists, Cosic and Popović Envision Serbia', the Slavic Review: 'American Quarterly of Russian, Eurasian and East European Studies, University of Illinois; Volume 58, Number 3, Fall 1999, p. 526

³⁰⁷ Andy Warhol speaking to Gene Swenson in 'What is Pop Art' Answers from 8 Painters, part 1, 1963 Gilda Williams, (Ed), *ON&BY Andy Warhol*; (Cambridge MA and London: The MIT Press and Whitechapel Gallery, 2016), p. 29

explicitly. In my interview with Pejić, she pointed to the benefits of such a position:

He was the darling of the Belgrade bourgeois milieu – *stari Beograd* (Old Belgrade). They were not communists, they had their traditions.

When people came to the opening – 600 people– the door was closed, but since the walls looking to the street are made of glass, it appeared as a demonstration. Since then he has the myth of [being a] dissident. [...] And then, after he got the aura of dissidence, he also lived well. He got monographs published. Whenever I went to a cocktail or a party in a foreign embassy they had a painting by Mića Popović [there].

If a new guy arrived in town, like a diplomatic call or somebody, they would at least– it was a matter of demonstration– on their coffee table they would have a monograph by Mića Popović. This was a ‘grey’ dissidence, this was never clear in Yugoslavia.³⁰⁸

While Pop works addressing political issues in the West did not face any kind of censorship on political grounds, in Yugoslavia Popovic’s choice to highlight what was already uncomfortable media coverage of the widening gap between the ruling elite and the people felt like a provocation, resulting in the closure of the exhibition. Warhol’s *Flash-November 22, 1963* (1968), portfolio featuring multiple images of John F Kennedy, for instance, critically addressed the obsessive replaying and analysis of J.F.K’s assassination. The portfolio consisted of a series of screen-printed Teletype texts, which relayed the unfolding of the tragic situation, as it had been reported at the time, and combined them with prints relating to the assassination. In another instance Warhol’s 1972 portrait of Richard Nixon entitled *Vote McGovern*, depicting Richard Nixon in what can only be described as disturbing, almost demonic colours, was used towards McGovern's political campaign.

³⁰⁸ From ‘An Interview with Bojana Pejić’, Berlin, 12 February 2014.

Popović's portrayal of Tito jarred too severely with the cultivated image of the Marshall as a man of the people, and someone with people's best interests at heart. Whilst no other measures were taken against Popović, the closure of the exhibition sent a clear enough message about Popović's dissenting views.

3. The Cult of Personality, Vernacular Pop and the Law

The censoring of Popović's exhibition became infamous because it stood out as an exception in an otherwise relatively tolerant environment. Even though specific rules for the way in which Tito could be depicted were not legally enshrined until 1977 (as will be discussed below), the only images of the Marshall that could be seen in the public realm were celebratory in tone, featuring the leader as a strong fatherly figure exuding confidence and strength.

Aside from high profile commissioned paintings, busts and sculptures that graced public spaces, Tito was also a popular motif in artworks made by amateur artists, children, soldiers serving their military service and people of all walks of life. As the sociologist Tamara Pavasović Trošt observed in her study of the cult of personality of the Marshall: 'Tito was not only a national hero; he represented the unifying facet of Yugoslav identity', a central fact in the construction of Tito's personality cult.³⁰⁹ The association of Tito with the territory of Yugoslavia was also highlighted in Bojana Pejić's research, seeking to 'recognise a connection between the image called 'Tito' and the abstract notion of 'Yugoslavia', a country that was largely known as 'Tito's state' or 'Titoist' Yugoslavia'.³¹⁰ Pejić points to an example of a physical representation of such an association in a 1977 pastel drawing by Radisa Lj. Lucic entitled *Tito or the original inscription*, in which Tito's face has been drawn over the Yugoslav map (Fig. 8).³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Tamara Pavasović Trošt, 'A Personality Cult Transformed: The Evolution of Tito's Image in Serbian and Croatian Textbooks, 1974–2010', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14, 1, April 2014, 146–170.

³¹⁰ In her doctoral thesis entitled *The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power the SFR Yugoslavia (1945–1991)*, (Oldenburg, Germany: The Carl von Ossietzky University in Oldenburg, 2005), Bojana Pejić devotes a chapter to representations of Tito. For further information see 'Comrade Tito: Photography, Iconicity and Allegorical Documentary' in Pejić's thesis. Pp. 139 – 189.

³¹¹ Tamara Pavasović Trošt, 'A Personality Cult Transformed: The Evolution of Tito's Image in Serbian and Croatian Textbooks, 1974–2010', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14, 1, April 2014, 146–170.

The complex relationship between Yugoslav citizens and their leader, one that has been described by art historian Bojana Videkanić as being ‘structured around admiration, adoration, and a strange symbolic exchange that could be characterised as secular religiosity’, operated across many levels. In Tito, Yugoslav people not only had a national hero, the man who fostered brotherhood and unity across the country’s six republics and two provinces. They also saw a charismatic and stylish public figure who, through his lavish lifestyle, provided desirable a visual representation of Yugoslav socialism. Drawing on the writings of Max Weber on the charisma of the leader, Pavasović Trošt highlights four traits deemed necessary for a charismatic authority: – ‘image (superhuman and supernatural qualities); reception (belief of leader's statements simply because the leader made them); compliance (complete obedience); and emotion (the ability to induce intensely emotional reactions, almost akin to religious worship)’. Josip Broz Tito, Pavasović Trošt argues, ‘possessed – and indeed succeeded in building the perception of – the qualities of genuine charismatic authority’.³¹²

From school assignments (children would be asked to draw a picture for Tito) in the run-up to Tito’s birthday to company-organised birthday gifts often featuring Tito’s image (forms of self-managed collective expressions of devotion and respect) and thousands of works by amateur artists, Tito’s image was central to a whole genre of vernacular culture. A group of Slovenian women even melted their wedding rings to create a golden heart to be given to Tito as a gift (Fig. 9). Most of these works including paintings, needlework, collage, to wood-carving were lovingly made birthday gifts and were sent to Tito in the run-up to his birthday (see Fig.10 for a selection of such gifts which are now, in their thousands, housed at the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade).

The Tito portrait became so much of a genre that numerous themed exhibitions of such works were organised. Those doing military service (conscription was compulsory in Yugoslavia) also regularly depicted Tito, with annual exhibitions at Army Clubs across the country showcasing the work. The International Portrait Gallery in the Bosnian town of Tuzla held, in 1977, an

³¹² Ibid.

exhibition entitled ‘Tito in the Work of Visual Artists’ repeating shows of the same title in 1980, shortly after Tito’s death and then again in 2012. Based around an open call for works depicting Tito, the 1977 exhibition attracted works both established and unknown artists, many of which were then acquired by the museum.³¹³

Tito’s image also became well known abroad. Beyond his internationally renowned political achievements, in particular his seminal role in the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, Tito also developed a reputation as being a charismatic leader with a taste for the finer things in life. It was not unusual to see Tito’s image in Western media, and he was featured on the cover of *Time* and *Life*³¹⁴ magazines several times between 1950s and 1970s. (Fig. 11)

Tito’s image even appeared in one of the earliest Pop artworks in the UK. A large-scale panel featuring the Marshall’s face graced the entry into the influential installation ‘Collage of the Senses’ by Group 2 (Richard Hamilton, John McHale and John Voelcker) (Fig. 12) exhibited at the ‘This is Tomorrow’ exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1956. The incorporation of Josip Broz’s face in this collaborative effort by the Independent Group– which has become known as a major precursor to Pop Art– is testament to the ubiquity of his image beyond Yugoslavia.³¹⁵

From a legal standpoint, until 1977 there was no legislation in Yugoslavia prohibiting the depiction of Tito in artworks, or indeed stipulating the form or tone of portrayals of the Marshall. There was no legal reason Tito’s image needed to be present in Yugoslav public spaces either, even if its ubiquity would suggest otherwise. The first law pertaining to Tito’s image and name was instituted in 1977,³¹⁶ and the second one, which criminalized the defamation of Tito’s name or likeness, was passed into law in 1984 four years

³¹³ For further information see the exhibition catalogue Ed. Jusufovic, Dzenan, *Tito u Djelima Likovnih Umjetnika, Medjunarodna Galerija portreta Tuzla, 02. 10. 2012*, (Tuzla: International Portrait Gallery, 2012).

³¹⁴ The cover of *Time* magazine on June 6, 1955 featured Marshal Tito.

³¹⁵ The image of Tito on this artwork was brought to my attention in a conversation in my interview with Bojana Pejić, Berlin, 12 February 2014.

³¹⁶ At a session held on 14 April 1977 at the Assembly of the SFRY a law called *Zakon o upotrebi grba, zastave i himne SFRJ i upotrebi lika i imena predsjednika republike Josipa Broza Tita* (The Law On The Use Of The Coat Of Arms, Flag And The Anthem Of The SFRY And The Usage Of The Image And The Name Of The President Of The Republic) was passed and personally signed by Tito in the capacity of President of the Republic.

after Tito's death.³¹⁷

Section five of the 1977 law entitled *Upotreba lika i imena predsednika republike* (the Use of the Image and Name of the President of the Republic), across articles 25 to 30, outlined specific guidelines of the usage of Tito's image and name. The key points were that the production and distribution of items bearing Tito's image needed to be approved by the assigned body, which would seek to insure that objects carrying the image of the President of the Republic did not 'jeopardise the reputation and dignity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as represented by the President of the Republic, that it does not distort the reputation and dignity of the President of the Republic.'³¹⁸ The section further specified that the approval process would involve a scrutiny of the likeness of Tito and would judge the 'artistic and other merits of the object', ensuring it was suitable for the use that was being sought. Article 29 was also significant in that it utilized the conditional and not the imperative mode of speech stating that 'only those photographs with the image of the president of the republic which have been authorized by the federal administrative office for science or culture could be prominently displayed in facilities which house federal offices'.³¹⁹

It was therefore only in 1977 that the use of Tito's image became regulated, with the most important element being the alignment of Tito's image with the reputation and dignity of Yugoslavia itself. The 1977 law was more focussed on controlling the way the President was portrayed than whether his image was present or absent, and its purpose clearly was to prevent any commercial gain

³¹⁷ The second law changed the punishment on the misuse of the image of Tito to make it stricter than in 1977. While the 1977 law had monetary fines (from 5.000 do 50.000 dinars) for those who did not comply with the usage of Tito's name or image, the 1984 law criminalized unlawful use of Tito's image or name, which carried a mandatory prison sentence between 3 months and 3 years. What also changed at this point is the language around the use of Tito's image or name – it changed from conditional to mandatory, meaning that their use became obligatory.

³¹⁸ The Law On The Use Of The Coat Of Arms, Flag And The Anthem Of The SFRY And The Usage Of The Image And The Name Of The President Of The Republic is available in its entirety (in Serbo-Croat) at: <https://sr.wikisource.org/wiki/Zakon_o_upotrebi_grba,zastave_i_himne_Socijalisti%C4%8Dke_Federativne_Republike_Jugoslavije_i_o_upotrebi_lika_i_imena_predsednika_Republike_Josipa_Broza_Tita>, last accessed 7 March, 2017.

³¹⁹ Pejić, Bojana, *The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power the SFR Yugoslavia (1945-1991)*, (Oldenburg, Germany: The Carl von Ossietzky University in Oldenburg, 2005), 'Comrade Tito: Photography, Iconicity and Allegorical Documentary' in Pejić's thesis. Pp. 139 – 189. P. 143.

being made through the distribution of the image of the leader. But article 29, Bojana Pejić has argued, was responsible for the fact that Tito never became a pop icon since commercial reproduction would not have been authorized by the federal administrative office.³²⁰

Aside from Popović's exhibition, very few artists in the country took risks in their depictions of Tito, despite the fact that legally there was nothing to stop them from doing so until 1977. The most controversial examples of critical views depicting the leader included a wall piece by Dušan Otašević entitled *Druže Tito Ljubičice Bijela, Tebe Voli Omladina Cijela* (*Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our Youth Loves You*) (1969) and the film *Plastic Jesus* (1971) by Lazar Stojanović, both which will be discussed below.

4. Self-Managed Censorship

The absence of critical voices brings back the question posed by Kobena Mercer that I highlighted in the introductory chapter: 'where pop was incorporated into the nation building apparatus of the state [...] what options were open to an avant-garde that sought to articulate political and ethical dissent?'³²¹ While the celebratory depictions of the leader and his achievements made for a whole genre of folk art, or vernacular pop, did the possibility of critical uses of Pop exist in the country?

In his research on censorship in film in Yugoslavia, film historian Stevan Vuković highlighted three forms of censorship that operated in the country: censorship by the Communist Party (renamed the League of Communists in 1952), censorship through juridical/police means, and censorship instituted through processes embedded in self-management.³²² The example of Mića Popović's exhibition illustrates a rare instance of an exhibition being censored

³²⁰ Ibid, p. 143

³²¹ Kobena Mercer (Ed), *Pop Art and Vernacular Cultures* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press and inIVA) 2007, p 9.

³²² 'Self-censorship in self-management - more successful than Agitprop' is an unpublished presentation which was given at numerous conferences by Stevan Vuković. Vuković kindly shared the presentation with me during a meeting in Belgrade in 2014.

by the League of Communists – an instance of the first type of censorship identified by Vuković. Below I will discuss the other two forms of censorship, by analysing Dušan Otašević's wall-piece *Druže Tito Ljubičice Bijela, Tebe Voli Omladina Cijela* (*Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our Youth Loves You*) (1969) and the film *Plastic Jesus* (1971) by Lazar Stojanović.

An important factor worth mentioning at this point is that freedom of expression in Yugoslavia proved to be somewhat site- and context-specific. Different artforms were subjected to different levels of scrutiny. While, in theory, artists had complete creative freedom in line with the liberal image of the country cultivated by the Yugoslav government, in reality freedom was much greater in art than, for instance, in film. In the case of art (the visual arts, associated with the gallery system), aside from images commissioned specifically for representative purposes (for instance to be displayed in public places or government buildings) these works tended to reach much smaller audiences, attracting mostly specific communities of interest and commanding modest media coverage. Bojana Pejić, based on her experience of working at the Belgrade's Student Cultural Centre's (SKC) visual arts department in 1970s, which was responsible for the exhibition and event programme of the SKC gallery (other departments at SKC comprised film, music, talks and theatre), pointed out: 'Yugoslav historians often stress that next to literature, it was film as a mass medium that was habitually a target of control and censorship [...] much more than the visual arts ever were. In the 1970s, the censorship in visual arts did not exist, and even though many political artists' performances held in the Student Cultural Centre, these works were never subjected to prohibition.'³²³ Given the conceptual turn of artists gathered around the student cultural centres, the projects were often difficult to decode for those not initiated into the conceptual art framework, and they often spoke to specific audiences only. As Sanja Iveković (active on the Student Cultural Centre network) observed: 'The paradox is that we as artists had serious intentions of 'democratising art' but the artistic language that we were using was so

³²³ Pejić, Bojana, *The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power the SFR Yugoslavia (1945-1991)*, (Oldenburg, Germany: The Carl von Ossietzky University in Oldenburg, 2005), Part 3: *Comrade Tito: Photography, Iconicity and Allegorical Documentary* in Pejić's thesis. Pp. 139 – 189. P. 176.

radically new that our audience was really limited.’³²⁴ This also accounted for this work passing ‘under the radar’ of the censors.

Vuković has claimed that the most efficient of the three forms of censorship was self-managed censorship, which, was ‘based on the expectation that the ‘manager does the job of the authoritarian state’.³²⁵ Self-managed censorship, Vuković went on to explain, ‘was usually conducted via committees comprising artists who, along party lines, in the name of orthodoxy worked to disempower other artists who were talented and capable’.³²⁶ Vuković’s proposition fits into the wider paradigm of a soft form of control, instituted ‘from below’ (by the creative workers themselves) articulated in Miklós Haraszti’s notion of the ‘velvet prison’. Haraszti’s analysis of the relationship between artists and the state claims that state socialism achieved a more successful form of control of its artists through supporting them, than through severe punishment and censorship. Haraszti claims that compliance can be better achieved through enabling, rather than censoring, claiming that in liberal forms of socialism artists ‘enthusiastically believed that their status as artists and citizens would greatly contribute to the elimination of exploitation – more of a liberation for them, than a sacrifice’.³²⁷

Self-managed censorship was therefore a form of control instituted by one’s immediate artistic community, a situation in which one’s peers often doubled up as like-minded arts workers *and* members of SKJ (The League of Communists). Artistic quality and integrity in such an environment were at best monitored, and at worst, as Vuković points out, suppressed, through a collective process of establishing the boundaries of criticality, determined by the community itself. This model first began to take shape, when in 1952 the Communist Party, changing its name to a somewhat more neutral (less Soviet sounding) one – The League of Communists – first articulated the new

³²⁴ Sanja Iveković is quoted in Antonia Majaca, ‘Feminism, Activism and Historicisation, Sanja Iveković talks to Antonia Majaca’, *n.paradoxa*, vol 23, January 2009, pp. 5-13, p. 6, and in Ruth Noack, *Sanja Iveković: Triangle* (London: Central Saint Martins, 2013), p. 5.

³²⁵ ‘Self-censorship in self-management - more successful than Agitprop’ is an unpublished presentation which was given at numerous conferences by Stevan Vuković. Vuković kindly shared the presentation with me during a meeting in Belgrade in 2014.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Miklós Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison: Artists under State Socialism*, Translated by Katalin and Stephen Landesmann. (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989), p. 42.

direction of workers' self-management. In the context of an explanation of the name change at the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists in 1952, it was stated that: 'with the development of self-management, the League of Communists will gradually cease to function as a centre of power, increasingly operating as an ideological and political authority (*idejno-politicka snaga*) steering the course of self-managed society.'³²⁸

5. Dušan Otašević's *Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our Youth Loves You*

The Belgrade-based Dušan Otašević (b. 1940) whose work was discussed in detail in the previous chapter, was one of the few artists who chose to make a work directly representing Tito. Otašević's interest in the vernacular, in street culture and the everyday, led him to take note of military insignia, which were particularly present in Otašević's life during his one-year compulsory military service in 1968/69. In the environment of military barracks, the materials he was encountering were, naturally, filled with state symbolism and representations of the Yugoslav leader. In 1969 Otašević made a series of works inspired by his time in the military, but here we will focus on the one piece which directly depicted Tito.³²⁹ Appropriating the aesthetics of banners used in public rallies such as May Day Parades and celebrations of Tito's birthdays, so present in Yugoslav public space, Otašević made an ambitious, large-scale (4 metres 88 cm x 3 metres, 48 cm) wall piece entitled *Druže Tito Ljubičice Bijela, Tebe Voli Omladina Cijela* (*Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our Youth Loves You*) (1969) (Fig. 13).

³²⁸ Dr. Najdan Pašić i Dr. Radoslav Ratković: 'Savez komunista u političkom sistemu socijalističkog samoupravljanja', 1980. Quoted in 'Self-censorship in self-management - more successful than Agitprop' by Stevan Vuković, Slide 27.

³²⁹ Otašević's works that took the military as his point of departure also included *Sentry Box*, 1969 and a piece he made for the influential exhibition 'Drangularijum' at the Student Cultural Centre, 1971 in which Otašević showed a work entitled *Flag* which was a readymade consisting of an actual red flag with the sickle and hammer on it and the acronym SKJ (Zavez Komunista Jugoslavije) with the words *Proleterii Svih Zemalja Ujedinite Se!* (Proletariat of all countries, unite!).

The work, made of painted wood and aluminium, is dominated by an image of Tito, positioned centrally between the Yugoslav flag and the League of Communists flag. A five point star – the symbol of communism – towers above this construction, nestled on a heart-shaped base, covered in a kitsch flowered pattern, reminiscent of domestic and municipal interiors popular at the time. The work is filled with irony – from the sarcastic appropriation of the popular song of praise used for the title, to the appropriation of the style of state propaganda banners. But the most contentious element was the image of Tito and the stylistic choices present in his depiction. Tito's image was based on a combination of two source photographs, both dating back to the Second World War. One was of a German 'wanted' poster, seeking Tito as a war criminal; the other image was of Tito in his Marshall's uniform.³³⁰ The image is a cartoon-like portrait of Tito in exaggerated bright colours, reminiscent of Warhol's celebrity portraits in which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the *tuche* emerges through alterations of the the original image. Otašević's *Tito* is a simplified schematic figure painted in bright colours, giving the impression of a printing mistake in which the colourway has gone wrong. Tito's face is bright pink and his hair a bright yellow. While the uniform remains its original green, the juxtaposition with the blue background and the bright red of the flags around the image creates a disconcerting effect, the intensity of the colour combination becoming repulsive, especially in such a large-scale work.

In an interview I conducted in April 2013 in Belgrade, Otašević spoke of his experience of creating this work and its consequences:

It is the largest work that I have ever made [...]. It was the result of my habit of collecting objects from the street. Because at that time I was serving my military service [...] in front of every barrack there was a small assemblage, [...] consisting of a portrait of Tito: a small bouquet of flowers and two crossed little flags, one the red, the party flag. I used these elements to make this work.] [...] I was always surrounded by people who were not great sympathisers of the Communist Party. I myself was not a dissident, but many people I

³³⁰ Branislav Dimitrijević and Marina Martić, (eds), Dušan Otašević, - *Popmodernism, A Retrospective Exhibition, 1965 - 2003*, p. 112.

knew were. For me it was just a system, like any other. I have never been a ‘soldier’ of any party, but there are people who find their identity in party politics, and find their place in political parties, which is understandable.

These artworks were not really acceptable from the point of view of the social reality and politics of that time. You asked me how much they were exhibited. As a matter of fact, they were not exhibited much at all. The *'Tito artwork'* [referring to *Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our Youth Loves You*] was exhibited, but then remained out of public view for a long time. This was, in the first place because of its large size— it is made up of many small parts.

Here, in the interview Otašević trails off, apologetically claiming that he does not want to complain, going on to say that this piece may have been the reason that he was not accepted for postgraduate study:

When you finish the Academy you usually want to stay on and do your post-graduate study because the studio space and material are provided. [...] Of course they did not accept me. I was a good student, in fact I was considered to be an excellent student. [...] Their explanation was that I finished the Academy in 1966 (it takes 5 years to finish), but already in 1965 I had had an exhibition. They justified the rejection by saying that I had already exhibited independently and that I had already developed my own style, that I had ‘found myself’, as they put it, claiming that I had no reason to go back to study since there was nothing for me to learn from the professors there. And I think this was a small formal excuse that they came up with. Because at that time you still had... it was not so easy to spot... as it was very discrete, how to put it... certain recommendations. Amongst professors, there were, as would be normal, members of the League of

Communists. I am not saying that it was important ... but it was connected.³³¹

Otašević's words provide a telling illustration of the subtlety and ambiguity present in 'soft' forms of censorship within Yugoslav self-management. He was fully aware that the decision to not accept him onto the postgraduate programme was connected to his unsuitable depiction of Tito. It appears that Otašević remains, over forty-five years later, uncomfortable with a precise articulation of the unspoken rules that governed the rejection. Although this is a subjective claim, and other elements may have been at play, Otašević's hesitant tone and reluctance to make a strong claim that he was effectively silenced, illustrate well the way self-managed censorship functioned. Prior to the introduction of the aforementioned law of 1977– which put Tito's likeness and name in the same category as state insignia (coat of arms, flag and anthem) so that they could only be used in accordance with regulations stipulated by the law – theoretically at least, artists had the freedom to represent anyone or anything they wished in their work.

In speaking of the relatively rapid decline in tolerance towards critical voices after 1968, Radina Vučetić explained: 'The cases of prohibitions and censorship, and the rapidly growing dissent showed that in cultural and intellectual spheres, despite formal freedoms the situation was not as ideal as the regime tried to present it to the *West*. The cultural elite, which had been 'given the gift of' abstract art, avant-garde theatre, experimental music..., was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the existing conditions, less so in art, and more in society. Democracy, embodied in the presence of the most avant-garde world trends in Yugoslavia, certainly created an illusion with Yugoslav artists that they too could express themselves freely, while the keepers of freedom evidently understood liberty somewhat differently.'³³²

³³¹ Lina Džuverović, 'An Interview with Dušan Otašević', Belgrade, 22 February 2013. Translation from Serbian by Vesna Džuverović and Lina Džuverović.

³³² Vučetić, Radina, *Koka-kola Socijalizam : Amerikanizacija Jugoslovenske Popularne Kulture Sezdesetih Godina XX Veka* (Belgrade: JP Sluzbeni Glasnik, 2012) p. 302, Translation by Lina Džuverović.

While Mića Popović, a known dissident who clearly courted controversy, did not hold back from representations of Tito, the mild-mannered, softly-spoken Dušan Otašević subsequently steered clear of politics.³³³ Both of these artists who engaged in direct representations of Tito found that their artistic freedoms had been compromised by the choice to do so, albeit in different ways.

6. The Case of Lazar Stojanović's *Plastic Jesus*

Even though this thesis focuses on the visual arts, the 1960s and 1970s in Yugoslavia saw a cross-pollination of artistic practices, and many artists straddled different artistic communities. Many of the questions pertaining to the role of artists in society that were being investigated by 'Countercultural Pop' artists in the field of visual arts, were simultaneously being addressed by film-makers and figures active in political and philosophical circles.³³⁴ In the late 1960s the so-called Black Wave film-makers embarked on a parallel but more explicitly critical course, closely scrutinising socialist bureaucracy and the intricacies of the Yugoslav political system, but not by any means from an anti Yugoslav or anti-socialist perspective.³³⁵ 'Their work was critical, and criticism should not be confused with condemnation' pointed out the 'Black Wave' scholar Greg DeCuir.³³⁶ Examples of such films can be seen in the works of film-makers Želimir Žilnik, Karpo Godina, Lazar Stojanović and Dušan Makavejev and others. Influenced by cinéma vérité, as well as by French New Wave film, 'Black Wave' films have been described by Greg

³³³ Aside from the series of works made shortly after his military service, of which *Druže Tito* was the only explicit one, Otašević also made a work entitled *Towards communism on Lenin's Course* (1967), two years earlier in which he depicted Lenin with a five star and a 'STOP' road sign.

³³⁴ Art and film historians have frequently drawn associations between 'New Art Practice' and 'Black Wave' film with the ideas of the Praxis group and the associated Korcula summer school. For a deeper analysis of 'Black Wave' film, (and its relationship with Praxis) see Gal Kirn, Dubravka Sekulić and Žiga Testen (Eds.), *Surfing the Black — Yugoslav Black Wave Cinema and Its Transgressive Moments* (Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Academie, 2011).

³³⁵ In the introduction to *Surfing the Black* the authors explain the term 'Black Wave': 'Connected mostly through their cinema club beginnings, that subsequently became regarded as a movement under a pejorative name 'The Black Wave', which was a result of an ideological campaign launched against some of those filmmakers by political-cultural apparatchiks. Later, the filmmakers appropriated this name.'

³³⁶ Greg DeCuir, *Yugoslav Black Wave – Polemical Cinema from 1963-1972* (Belgrade: Film Center Serbia, 2011), p. 27.

DeCuir as ‘self-critical realism’. Many of the films used found footage, frequently juxtaposing mutually contradictory political messages with a view to distilling their meaning, while also controversially combining this footage with sexually explicit content. The diverse films that are today spoken about under the banner of ‘Black Wave’ are so disparate that it is difficult to speak of them as any form of a coherent whole, but one of their unifying traits is their overall adoption of the Marxist scrutiny of all aspects of existing conditions. ‘Black Wave’, like ‘Countercultural Pop’ was born out of the experimental artistic environments of cine clubs, the GEFF Festival and the programming of Student Cultural Centres in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb.³³⁷

One such work which straddled disciplines through the significant input of its main protagonist, the artist and film-maker Tomislav Gotovac, was *Plastic Jesus* (1971) by Lazar Stojanović. This film will be used as the third example of Vuković’s categories, (the juridical/police instituted form of censorship) and here it will serve as an illustration of juridical censorship.³³⁸ *Plastic Jesus* was perhaps the most notorious example of censorship in the country, resulting in the arrest of the film-maker for three years, and the shelving of the film until its eventual first screening in 1990.

Returning to Stevan Vuković’s delineation between three forms of censorship, he argued that, in the case of Yugoslav film, political and self-managed forms of censorship dominated. Vuković pointed out that there were only four legal (juridical) cases of films being prohibited – out of around seventy films that

³³⁷ Even though it is beyond the remit of this chapter, here it is worth mentioning the introduction of the cultural policy called ‘Technique to the People’ in 1946, which later led to the production of much amateur film, radio and photography including fostering experimental and avant-garde uses of technology through cine clubs. The institution named *Narodna Tehnika* (People’s Technique) provided infrastructure and was charged with making technology more accessible to the people. Ana Janevski’s research claimed that a key aim of *Narodna Tehnika* was to ‘organize, sponsor and promote different amateur activities’, a discussion of which is in: Gal Kirn, ‘A few Notes On The History Of Social Ownership In The Spheres Of Culture And Film In Socialist Yugoslavia From The 1960s To The 1970s’, *Etnološka Tribina* 37, vol. 44, 2014, pp. 109-123, p. 114.

³³⁸ Gotovac was trained in film at the Film Academy in Belgrade and was a fellow student of Lazar Stojanović, the author of *Plastic Jesus*. In the late 50s and early 60s, Gotovac made a series of experimental films and this resulted in the trilogy *Straight Line*, *Blue Rider*, *Circle* and his first structuralist film, *The Morning of a Faun*, (1963) along with numerous photographic works, over one hundred collages, works on paper and scrapbooks, and sculptures.

were censored in total, during the history of socialist Yugoslavia.³³⁹ Film-maker Želimir Žilnik's description of the process of film censorship brings home the mechanics of self-managed censorship in film: 'The commission which was in charge of issuing the necessary film certificates was not a group of hooded men with Stalin-like moustaches. Appointed by the Ministry of Culture, it consisted of around ten people, mostly film critics and authors, as well as heads of distribution companies, theatres, museums. There were no professional politicians, as far as I remember. They were not needed because everyone in the commission was a member of the SKJ (Savez Komunista Jugoslavije– the League of Communists of Yugoslavia). The author and the producer could attend the censorship screening. In fact their presence was welcome. I was present during the censoring process of the first six of my short films.'³⁴⁰

Žilnik went on to explain that following the screening the Board would request the necessary revisions, selecting specific parts of the film to be cut if they were deemed inappropriate. What the committee was looking for, to paraphrase Žilnik, was whether the film in question called out for a forceful toppling of the political system, offended the moral framework, engaged in spreading nationalist or religious hatred or was seen to be disseminating inappropriate messages to young people.³⁴¹

All films aimed for public screening in the country were subjected to this process, and in many cases segments which were seen to fall within one of the above categories were edited out. But it was Stojanović's graduation film *Plastic Jesus* that received a much more severe punishment than any of the films hitherto. It also marked the moment when tolerance of critical voices rapidly declined, following a decade that saw what Gal Kirn has characterised

³³⁹ Vuković lists the films that were censored: *Ciguli Miguli* (1952), *City* (1962), *Plastic Jesus* (1972) and *Oasis* (1988).

³⁴⁰ A quote, translated by myself, from a conversation between Boris Buden and Želimir Žilnik in *Uvod u Proslost (Introduction to the Past)*, a book of conversations between Boris Buden and Želimir Žilnik, (Novi Sad: Centre for New Media, 2013), p. 72- 73. The official title of the certificate that Žilnik mentions was *Rešenje o davanju odobrenja za javno prikazivanje* (Decree allowing public exhibition), and the Commission's full title was *Republička komisija za pregled filmova*. (The Republican Commission for the Examination of Films).

³⁴¹ Ibid, p. 73. The quote by Žilnik is paraphrased above. Žilnik's original list states: 'Ingerencija komisije je da proveriti da li film poziva na nasilno rušenje poretka, vređa moral, širi nacionalnu i versku mržnju i nevaspitno deluje na mlade.'

as the ‘most exciting years in the whole history of Yugoslav film [...] [which] became referred to as a “golden age” of Yugoslav film’.

With *Plastic Jesus*, Stojanović proved to be much more provocative than the majority of ‘Black Wave’ films in precisely the ways that were most controversial and unacceptable in Yugoslavia at the time.

The 73 minute film follows a young penniless film-maker named Tom, played by artist Tomislav Gotovac, as he drifts through his day to day life in Belgrade, focusing on his relationship with women, his life philosophy and his survival in the capital city with little money and a desire to make films (Fig. 14). The film, like much of ‘Black Wave’ cinema is experimental in nature (owing much, stylistically, to Jean-Luc Godard, and the French *nouvelle vague*), with no coherent narrative, but rather a series of non sequitur situations delivered through abrupt cuts and incongruous combinations of diverse archival footage, music sources, intercut with Stojanović’s own material. The film’s essence lies in its complex, often humourous, and highly politicised editing achievement, using a technique which has become known a ‘Serbian cutting’. This technique was defined by Greg DeCuir as a style of editing ‘composed through a highly-diverse assemblage of dissimilar archival elements [...] blended together to carry forward a great deal of the film’s ideological points’.³⁴²

The main protagonist – the bearded, hippie Tom, embodies the voice of dissent, a mindset shared by many young people of his generation. With his oppositional views, switching between Serbo-Croat and English (his girlfriend in the film is American), and an anti-authoritarian stance, Tom is not in his own right the reason for the severe punishment of the film-maker and the shelving of the film. Within Tom’s anti-establishment character was embedded a much deeper critique of the Yugoslav system.

Stojanović’s film received such an extreme response because it implied parallels between Yugoslav leadership, nationalist factions active during the Second World War (Chetniks, a Serbian nationalist faction, and Ustase, a

³⁴² Greg DeCuir, *Yugoslav Black Wave – Polemical Cinema from 1963-1972*.

Croatian right wing group) and the Nazi regime. Archival footage of Tito and the Partisan movement was juxtaposed through ‘associative montage’ with right-wing political regimes. The film included long segment of a speech given by Ante Pavelic at the Croatian National Assembly on 23 February 1942. Pavelic was a Croatian fascist dictator who led the Ustaše movement and the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) during World War II. Stojanović also created numerous filmic associations between Yugoslav Partisans and Chetniks (*Četnici*) a World War II movement in Yugoslavia led by Draža Mihailović, fighting for an ethnically homogeneous Greater Serbian state, in collaboration with the Axis forces. Nazi songs, footage of Hitler and images of WW2 victims were all juxtaposed to create a confusing, but highly suggestive entity. In short, Stojanović sought to destabilise and put into question the Yugoslav narrative of anti-fascism and brotherhood and unity by suggesting other narratives as possibilities for the current regime.

One of the key moments of the film involved a less-than-flattering representation of Tito. Stojanović incorporated behind the scenes footage of Tito during his preparations for a television broadcast. The footage revealed a vulnerable Tito, capturing a private moment when the leader is uncertain, checking his notes, muttering to himself, mouthing parts of his speech and asking someone off camera a question. While the footage did not show him in a negative light as such, it offered a rare unstaged glimpse of a man normally always shown in a fully performative role of the leader (Fig. 15). This moment was accompanied by a soundtrack of a Partisan song, expressing the youth’s devotion to Tito. The lyrics ‘*tebe voli, tebe voli omladina cela*’ (‘you are loved, loved by the entire youth’) (this is a version of the same song used in the title of Dušan Otašević’s piece discussed above) are heard over the images of Tito caught in a private moment trying to concentrate on his speech. The contrast between the elated young voices expressing admiration for their leader, and the reality of an elderly man caught off guard who even appears a little nervous, comes across as ironic, mocking and disrespectful, demystifying and undoing the carefully-constructed personality cult.

To make the destabilizing moment even more evident, the footage was immediately followed by shot of a TV screen showing what appeared to be a

Hollywood film with Serbo-Croat subtitles. Shortly after the Tito footage we see a subtitled conversation featuring the sentence ‘It was not easy for him to admit defeat.’ (Fig. 16). As Greg DeCuir pointed out: ‘Few Yugoslav filmmakers would ever dare to utilize an image of Tito in their film, let alone an image in which he is depicted in an unfavourable light; that was tantamount to blasphemy in Yugoslavia and Stojanović paid the price for it, even if he merely removed the public mask from Tito and exposed him for who he was a human being made of flesh and blood, and not a god.’³⁴³

In addition to ‘dethroning’ the leader by showing him in his private moments, Stojanović’s film broke the boundary of private and public information in another way.

In a key section of *Plastic Jesus* Stojanović incorporated home-movie footage of a party celebrating the wedding of Ljubisa Ristic (one of the actors in the film) and Visnja Postic. As it happened, both the bride and groom’s fathers were army generals and could be seen in the home movie celebrating along with other dignitaries. Through suggestive montage Stojanović created a link between these individuals and Chetniks, in the following sequence, suggesting that they may have been Chetniks in the past. Once the film was confiscated, this footage was removed and, when the film was publically screened for the first time in 1990,³⁴⁴ was replaced by a title stating that ‘This scene disappeared while the this film was in the care of the state’ (Fig. 17).

Stojanović has stated in many interviews that he was fully aware of the provocative nature of the film he was making, but that as a member of the Communist Party (and still a student) he expected to receive a simple warning, not a severe prison sentence and the film’s complete suppression.

7. Countercultural Pop: The Absent Presence of Tito in the work of Sanja Iveković, Mladen Stilinović and Braco Dimitrijević

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 249.

³⁴⁴ The film was shown for the first time in 1990, and received the international jury award at the Montreal Film Festival in 1991.

The works discussed so far in this chapter make for relatively rare examples of artists using Tito's image to express a broader discontent or comment on specific aspects of the Yugoslav system. In critical depictions of the leader, whose image, as we saw in the wording of law of 1977 was closely tied to Yugoslavia itself (the law clearly aligned the representational power of Tito's image with the country itself: 'reputation and dignity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as represented by the President of the Republic' stated Section 5, Clause 25) they were automatically outwardly critiquing Yugoslav socialism and the country itself.³⁴⁵ A much more common strategy amongst Yugoslav artists was one of using oblique references, or what has been referred to by many scholars of Eastern Europe under communist rule, the use of 'Aesopian language'³⁴⁶ – in which allegory is used to speak between the lines, to indirectly comment on the system, without explicitly expressing such opinions. In the words of the Russian poet and literary critic Lev Loseff, Aesopian language was 'a special literary system, one whose structure allows interaction between the author and reader at the same time that it conceals inadmissible content from the censor'.³⁴⁷

In the work of many Yugoslav artists, especially the 'Countercultural Pop' generation, strongly influenced by conceptualism, the 'absent presence' of Tito was invoked through association, and through allegorical narratives which often put into question the agency of the represented subject (the citizen, worker, artist) by alluding to another, spectral element– a significant, but unseen presence.

³⁴⁵ Section 5, Clause 25, from the law of 1977, as above.

³⁴⁶ The term Aesopian language refers to the language used in the Greek fables of Aesop in which a seemingly innocent sentence contains a deeper meaning, that can only be detected through a close, knowing reading, by those holding enough information to detect the hidden meanings. The term was first introduced by the Russian satirist M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin in his *Letters to Auntie* (1881-1882) as a way of communicating what of a 'figurative language of slavery' can be and to explain an 'ability to speak between the lines [...] at a time when literature was in a state of bondage'. The term was later used by Lenin and by Herbert Marcuse and numerous others to articulate subversive strategies used by artists and intellectuals in oppressive regimes. Aesopian Language is discussed in detail by Andrei Terian, 'The Rhetoric of Subversion: Strategies of 'Aesopian Language' in Romanian Literary Criticism under Late Communism', *SLOVO*, Vol. 24, NO. 2 (Autumn 2012), 75-95.

³⁴⁷ Lev Loseff as quoted by Terian in 'The Rhetoric of Subversion', p. 76.

In the rest of this chapter I will explore allegorical strategies for communicating discontent via the following works: *Slučajni Prolaznici koje sam sreo u 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 sati* (*Casual Passers-by whom I met at 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 hours*) (1971) by Braco Dimitrijević, *Trokut* (*Triangle*) (1979) and *Novi Zagreb. Ljudi Iza Prozora* (*New Zagreb. People Behind Windows*), (1979), by Sanja Iveković, and the photo series *I Maj 1975* (1975) by Mladen Stilinović.

The notion of ‘absent presence’, a foundational concept within the philosophy of deconstruction, emerges from Jacques Derrida’s concept of ‘the trace’³⁴⁸. Derrida argues that the meaning of a sign is determined not only through what that sign *is* (what is seen, or spoken) but also through that which that sign *is not*, carrying within it the ‘the trace’ (or track) of its opposite. Derrida’s view, therefore, relies on the idea that meaning is constructed through both the characteristics of the sign and the characteristics of that from which this sign is different. The meaning of a sign is constructed from the difference between that sign and other signs (the mention of ‘a man’ automatically conjures up the trace of its opposite in language, ‘a woman’). An element cannot function as a sign without a reference to another element, which is in itself is not simply present. All of the elements in a system are interwoven or inter-textualised together, and each is constituted in relation to the trace of the other elements within the chain, or system.³⁴⁹

The dynamic between the agency of the individual, and the constraints imposed by the political system was in the case of many Countercultural Pop artists tackled via images and narratives which conjured up the absent presence of Tito.

The seminal work *Slučajni Prolaznici koje sam sreo u 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 sati*, by Braco Dimitrijević, one of Yugoslavia’s early conceptualists, was commissioned by the Zagreb Salon – an annual open call which offered the opportunity to selected artists to make new work to be shown in public spaces. Dimitrijević’s proposal was to print three large-scale photographs of passers-by

³⁴⁸ Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 70.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, Pp. 70 – 73.

that he had met at the times he later noted, and to display them on the façade of a prominent building in Zagreb's Republic Square (today Ban Jelacic square). This, being the city's main square, was the same spot where portraits of Tito were regularly displayed during public holidays and celebrations, as was the case with all Yugoslav cities (Fig. 19). The commission was accepted by Želimir Košćević, the progressive and open-minded curator of the Student Centre gallery in the city, and the Republic Square woke up on a May morning in 1971 dominated by banner-sized portraits of three ordinary Zagreb citizens – a middle-aged man, a young blonde woman and an elderly lady with a hat. In her account of the event, Nena Dimitrijević, curator, and lifelong partner of Braco Dimitrijević, explained: 'confused early morning commuters queuing up for the tram wondered whether there had been a sudden regime change. But the look of three ordinary faces in no way confirmed the thesis of new political triumph.'³⁵⁰ By placing the subject of Yugoslav socialism at a site where the leader was normally seen, Dimitrijević's work invoked Tito's absent presence, posing the question of who really mattered in Yugoslav society, the governing elites, or the ordinary citizen. The use of disinformation, and the deliberate misleading of the viewer, Braco Dimitrijević observed, was a way of activating his audiences, producing a critical subject. By destabilising the mechanism of associations between the image and its location, the piece sought to disturb and unsettle any possible complacency in Dimitrijević's fellow citizens, and to inspire a social consciousness which would put into question the fetishisation of the image of the leader. Dimitrijević's work, without resorting to representation, destabilised the established relationship between the viewer and their surroundings.³⁵¹

Dimitrijević's tactics, which problematised the cult of personality, and the place of the icon in Yugoslav public space, is reminiscent of the aesthetics and the approach of Andy Warhol's 1964 outdoor installation '*13 Most Wanted Men*' (Fig. 20) installed on April 15, 1964, on the façade of the New York State Pavilion, at the 1964 World's Fair at Flushing Meadows, New York. The work remained on view only for a short period and was painted over a few

³⁵⁰ Braco Dimitrijević and Nena Dimitrijević, *Tekst(s)*, (Zagreb: Durieux, 2014).p 351.

³⁵¹ Bojana Videkanic, 'First and Last Emperor: Representation of the President, Bodies of the Youth', in Breda Luthar and Marusa Pusnik, (Eds), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, pp. 37-64.

days later, under the direction of the Fair officials. For this prominent set of public commissions for the Philip Johnson-designed New York State Pavilion's exterior, Warhol chose to enlarge mug shots from a New York Police Department booklet featuring the 13 most wanted criminals of 1962. Forming a grid consisting of front and profile views, the work, in a manner similar to Dimitrijević's passers-by works, Warhol elevated the image of the common man – from the space of invisibility to a sought-after space of display, normally reserved for Pop icons, leaders, or increasingly, highly paid advertising messages. Both artists shared the same Pop approach: by severing the links between the image and its expected context, they destabilised the hierarchies of the images, producing new meanings.

Dimitrijević was one of the first artists in Yugoslavia to embrace both conceptual art and everyday materials, seeking to bring art into the public space. This approach, embodied in the artist's well-known statement, 'the Louvre is my studio, the street is my museum', was further explored through exhibitions held at bus stops, foyers of residential buildings and through artworks staged to be executed by passers-by without their knowledge, in an act aimed at transferring the authorship from the artist to the ordinary citizen, reminiscent of Yugoslavia's egalitarian promises.³⁵² Dimitrijević's work, keen to disrupt existing hierarchies both within art and social space, shared an approach with many other 'Countercultural Pop' artists who referenced the Yugoslav political climate, such as Sanja Iveković, Mladen Stilinović, as well as the previously discussed the 'Black Wave' film-makers whose films in many cases posed similar questions in a different medium.

Public rallies, as key sites of encounter between Yugoslav citizens and ideology, interested a number of artists. Annual May Day celebrations, 25 May – 'The Day of Youth' and President Tito's birthday, 29 November – the Day of the Republic, and many other such occasions were major public events in which all Yugoslavs participated in some way, ranging from school children, to the military, to workers in self-managed enterprises. Such rituals in all their monumentality, formed the officially-endorsed popular visual culture of

³⁵² Braco Dimitrijević and Nena Dimitrijević, *Tekst(s)*, (Zagreb: Durieux, 2014).

Yugoslav socialism, to the same extent as the commissioned War memorial monuments and artworks created to be placed in ‘*protocolarian*’ buildings. Prescribed aesthetics was were reflected in everything from children’s drawings prepared for months in advance of Tito’s birthday (as seen above), to a myriad specially designed industrial objects sent to Tito by self-managed enterprises, from hydraulic pumps and decorative lamps to ashtrays and souvenir dentures. Such rituals, which took place in most larger cities, fully televised (once TV became available in the homes, in the early 1960), were the culmination of the celebration of Tito as the ‘socialist body’, and crucial in the spread of socialist iconography.

Artists’ responses to this pervasive aspect of the Yugoslav everyday in many cases appropriated and subverted the imagery and the aesthetics of such public events, seeking to expose the less visible aspects involved in orchestrating such ceremonies, and their effects on the ordinary citizen. Works by Sanja Iveković and Mladen Stilinović focused precisely on this form of encounter by highlighting the ‘behind the scenes’ elements of such events– the labour involved and the orchestration of behaviour necessary for the seemingly perfect displays of authority and power. By highlighting the perspective of the ordinary citizen, the three artists sought to redirect public attention away from leadership and onto the ordinary Yugoslav.

Labour day was at the centre of Mladen Stilinović’s photo series *1 Maj 1975 (1 May 1975)*, (1975) (Fig. 22), which like many of his other works used written word to explore ideology. Stilinović took black-and-white photographs of prominent slogans on Yugoslav ‘brotherhood and unity’, which were hung on the streets of Zagreb during this festive occasion. On the same day, Stilinović and his partner Branka Stipančić undertook a parallel action; inserting their own banners amongst the national celebratory slogans. Different sizes of fabric banners, with a text that read ‘*Adjo loves Stipa*’ were hung in public spaces, alongside the expected 1 May messages, humourously mimicking political banners expressing Yugoslav citizens’ love for Tito. The text was a message of love and personal devotion in the midst of state propaganda, the type of love that every leader longs for.

Two of Sanja Iveković's works made in 1979— *Trokut (Triangle)* (Fig. 23) and *Novi Zagreb. Ljudi Iza Prozora (New Zagreb. People Behind Windows)*, (1979), highlighted the tension between individual agency and authoritarian control of public behaviour. Both works used public notices that were issued to citizens on occasions of parades involving Tito and other dignitaries passing through the city, as triggers to explore the relationship between power structures and individual citizens. Iveković's home, on Savska Street in central Zagreb, one of the city's main arteries, was (and continues to be) on the path of such events. Both works sought to investigate the boundaries of individual agency, when faced with a specific directive, posing questions about freedom and agency of the individual in Yugoslavia. To explain further: inhabitants, including Iveković, of the streets where the convoy would pass, would receive notices in their mailboxes issuing specific orders for behaviour during the event. These directives instructed citizens to stay inside their homes, marking certain areas off limits. It was prohibited for inhabitants to stand by the window, or to use their balconies if they faced the street where the convoy would be passing. The other option, apart from staying indoors and away from their windows, that was open to inhabitants of these buildings, was to go out to the street and join the celebration by standing in the designated public areas at specific times.

The performance/installation piece '*Trokut*' (*Triangle*) (1979), (Fig. 23), which has since become a paradigmatic work for conceptual feminist practice, is centred on a performative situation set up by the artist on her balcony. As articulated by the art historian and writer Antonia Majaca, Iveković's action was 'a unique exercise in the utilization of the gendered body as a trigger for the instantaneous exposure of the mechanisms of control, surveillance and techniques for the preservation of state order'.³⁵³

³⁵³ *Triangle* has been heavily theorised and extensively shown internationally which is why I am not describing the work itself in detail here. The artwork consists of three photographs and a text panel, which are shown in the illustration. Further information on the work can be found in: Ruth Noack, *Sanja Iveković: Triangle* (London: Central Saint Martins, 2013).

In *Triangle* Iveković becomes the unruly subject – ‘the body that is out of control’³⁵⁴ – disregarding state directives, by choosing to occupy the wrong space at the wrong time. By sitting on her balcony, which indeed does directly overlook the street where Tito is about to pass during his visit on May 10, 1979, Iveković asserts her own will over that of the state. Not only does Iveković occupy a prohibited space, she also does so in ways that signify dissent, not only as a citizen, but as a female citizen: Iveković can be seen on her balcony wearing a T-shirt with an American slogan and a skimpy skirt, hand suggestively between her legs simulating masturbation. She is smoking a cigarette, drinking whiskey while reading the 1964 book entitled *Elites and Society* by the British Marxist sociologist T. B. Bottomore, a sociological study of power relations in modern society.³⁵⁵ The triangulation suggested by the title occurs between Iveković, as the unruly female subject, and two police officers, who are communicating by walkie-talkie. One is positioned on the roof of a building opposite Iveković’s, and can see her balcony action in full view. He is in communication with his colleague who is standing on the street below Iveković’s balcony. This series of small gestures and acts taking place in Iveković’s ‘autonomous zone’ of the balcony: the T shirt, the choice of book, the whiskey and cigarette and the freedom achieving sexual pleasure should she want it, formulate Iveković’s vocabulary which, through both the refusal to comply, and the her chosen signifiers of individualism, critique the forms of control she is subjected to as a citizen. Iveković opts for liberalism and individualism in the face of expectations to play a part of orchestrated performance of state rituals. Iveković’s balcony ‘sit-in’ lasts for 18 minutes until her door bell rings and a police officer demands that ‘the persons and objects are to be removed from the balcony’.³⁵⁶ This marks the end of the performance.

³⁵⁴ See Antonia Majaca, ‘Feminism, Activism and Historicisation, Sanja Iveković talks to Antonia Majaca’, *n.paradoxa*, vol 23, January 2009.

³⁵⁶ This text is included in the panel explaining the work which is shown alongside the four images (see image). The full text reads: ‘The action takes place on the day of the President’s visit to the city, and it develops as intercommunication between three persons:

1. a person on the roof of a tall building across the street from my apartment;
2. myself, on the balcony;
3. a policeman in the street in front of the house.

Due to the cement construction of the balcony, only the person on the roof can actually see me and follow the action. My assumption is that this person has binoculars and a walkie-talkie apparatus. I notice that the policeman in the street also has a walkie-talkie.

Iveković's act of disobedience and decision to override state demands is also echoed in the display of *Triangle*. The four photographs are displayed in a triangular fashion with the image of Iveković on the balcony positioned to the right of the image of Tito as he passes by in his convertible car, waving at the gathered masses around him. The two images below and above these, show the policeman on the roof across from Iveković's balcony, and the crowds below. The three images that show the state-orchestrated event are wide-angle shots filled with willing participants performing their roles within the choreography of the event. The event is only possible through collective participation of these bodies who are willingly fulfilling their roles within the choreography. Tito himself is one of these willing participants, fully immersed in the performance of his role in the overall event, as he waves on cue. But the image of Iveković on her balcony is different in scale altogether – the image is a close-up of the balcony with only Iveković at the centre. This is Iveković's domain, reclaimed and orchestrated by her only. The juxtaposition of the small figures in other images and the centrality of Iveković's position propose a reversal of the power dynamics between state and individual. In both *New Zagreb* and *Triangle*, Tito is present, but becomes a marginal figure, in the face of actions performed by those who are going against the imposed narratives.

New Zagreb (Fig. 24) is a companion piece to 'Triangle' thematically, in the way in which it highlights the possibilities of civil disobedience. Using a large black and white newspaper photograph of Tito and his wife Jovanka Broz as they pass through a busy city street, Iveković shifts the emphasis away from Tito's convoy onto the block of flats behind it. The homes of those who chose to ignore the public notice requiring they stay away from their windows, are highlighted in bright yellow, red and blue. The primary colours with which Iveković highlights the homes of the 'disobedients' act as a way of dividing the image into two planes – the black and white state-directed narrative, and the brightly coloured 'Pop space' of those refusing to conform. The blocks of colour in the image act as a visual device which draws the viewer in, shifting

The action begins when I walk out onto the balcony and sit on a chair, I sip whiskey, read a book, and make gestures as if I perform masturbation. After a period of time, the policeman rings my doorbell and orders the 'persons and objects are to be removed from the balcony'.

the gaze from the central figure of Tito, to the multitude of individual acts of disobedience taking place in the semi-private spaces of citizen's balconies.

Like Warhol's *13 Most Wanted Men* and Dimitrijević's *Casual Passers-by* series, Iveković reverses the order of power by placing the ordinary citizen centre stage. Whether that citizen is the artist herself, as is the case in *Triangle*, or the figures standing by their windows that can be barely glimpsed in the blown-up newspaper photograph documenting Tito's visit, in *New Zagreb*, these works are about the possibility of acting otherwise and asserting one's will in a controlling system. In Warhol's piece convicted criminals are placed centre stage. We do not know their crimes, but the disobedient subjects have assumed a central position in the social order, thus destabilising the power structure between the state and the individual. By giving visibility to the possibility of dissent, or placing the action of the individual center stage, Iveković opens up a space for imagining options of a different social order in which the citizen is truly the subject with a voice and a power to enact change.

The works by Sanja Iveković, Braco Dimitrijević and Mladen Stilinović discussed here all focused on urban spaces as central sites in the ideological production of visual narratives of Yugoslav socialism. Through regular displays of ideological state control, embodied in the public rallies, processions, celebrations and state visits that punctuated Yugoslav daily life, the socialist government asserted not only its visibility but also its ability to orchestrate and choreograph the behavior of its citizens. Such events were the most frequent and visible points of encounter between citizens and Yugoslav ideology, turning the citizen into either the willing participant performing their part in the choreography, or rendering them invisible, should they not adhere to the prescribed rules (as seen in Iveković's works which highlight the requirements for citizens to stay away from their windows and balconies if not willing to part-take in the event in specific ways).

In all three of the works, the artists were interested in the citizen as the disobedient subject – one that remains visible in the public arena while also refusing to take part. In all of the works, Tito's image, normally centrally positioned and made the focus around which the ceremonies were conducted,

was displaced and his prime position was reclaimed by the ordinary citizen. In doing so, these artists repopulated the structures of Yugoslav ideology, in a symbolic gesture of giving agency to the ordinary citizen and highlighting growing socioeconomic discrepancies in Yugoslav society.

The question of agency of the individual is also pertinent to another central theme of this thesis - the question of gender difference in relation to Yugoslav Pop. The next chapter examines the position, role and the shifting public image of women within the rapid socio-political changes that occurred in Yugoslavia between 1950s and 1970s. The next, and final, chapter is a feminist revisiting of the practices of Yugoslav female artists, investigating their varied relationships to popular culture and possibilities brought about by Pop Art.

8. Chapter 6 Illustrations



Figure 1.

Mića Popović, *Svečana Slika*, (*Ceremonial Painting*) (1974), Dimensions:
200x230 cm (two views)



Figure 2.

The original photograph which served as the source for 'Ceremonial Painting', from the *Politika* newspaper. The caption read:

"Državna posete predsednika Tita" (The State Visit of the President Tito), president Tito and his wife Jovanka Broz, the Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard, Princess Beatrix and prince Claus, Princess Margret, 21 October 1970



Figure 3.

An example of a page showcasing Tito's international connections, which includes the image of the meeting with Dutch royalty, from a Monograph entitled *Tito*, (Zagreb: Spektar, 1977)



Figure 4.

Mića Popović, *Ricard Titovog lika* (*Richard in the likeness of Tito*), (1974)



Figure 5.

Mića Popović, *Gvozden je zavirio u kupleraj* (*Gvozden peeks into a brothel*), (1973)



Figure 6.

Mića Popović, *Idila (Idyll)*, (1978)



Figure 7.

Scene from a rally for Tito's birthday, 25th May.

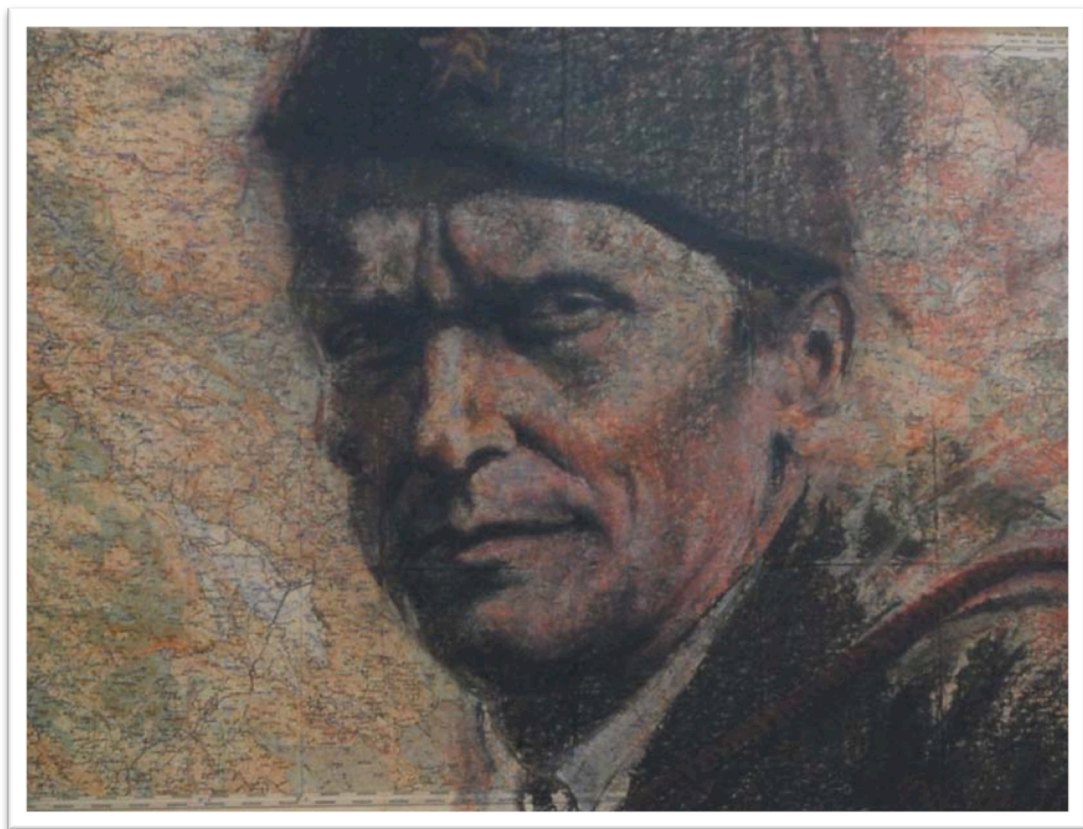


Figure 8.

Radisa Lj. Lucic, *Tito ili izvorni zapis, (Tito or the Original Inscription)*,
(1977), pastel on map, 63 x 85 cm



Figure 9.

Bronze sculpture of a woman containing a heart made of melted wedding rings.

Zena Koja Pruza Zlatno Srce – Novomesanka. Museum of Yugoslav History.

Date unknown.





Figure 10.

A selection of amateur art and craft celebrating Tito, sent as gifts to the Marshall. From the collection of the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

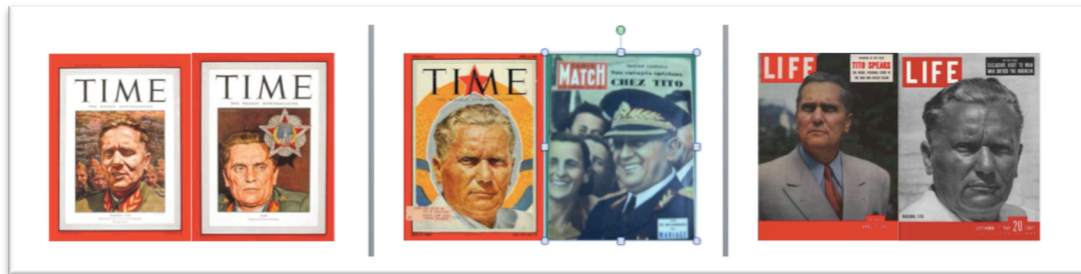


Figure 11.

Tito's image in Western media, on the cover of *Time* and *Life* magazines several times between 1950s and 1970s.

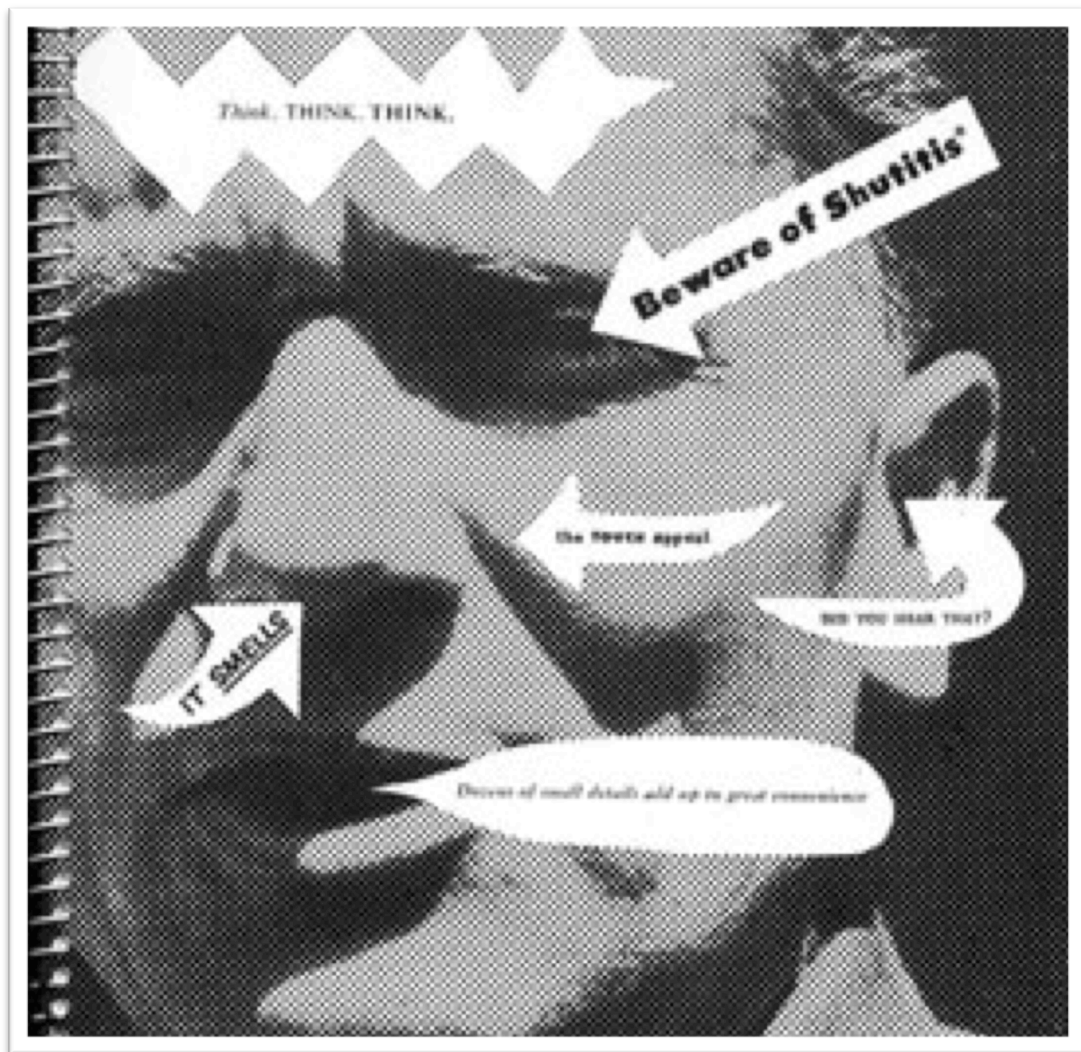


Figure 12.

Tito's image in the *Collage of the Senses* in 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition catalogue, (1956)



Figure 13.

Dušan Otašević, *Druže Tito Ljubičice Bijela, Tebe Voli Omladina Cijela*, (Comrade Tito, Our Violet White, Our Youth Loves You), (1969), painted wood, aluminium, 4 metres 88 cm x 3 metres, 48 cm.



Figure 14 .

Lazar Stojanović, *Plastic Jesus*, (1971 (released 1990)), a selection of stills.



Figure 15.

Lazar Stojanović, *Plastic Jesus*, (1971 (released 1990)), still

A still from film that shows footage of Tito, checking his notes, muttering to himself, mouthing parts of his speech and asking a question of someone off-camera.



Figure 16.

Lazar Stojanović, *Plastic Jesus*, (1971 (released 1990)), still.

The subtitle reads: *'It was not easy for him to admit defeat.'*

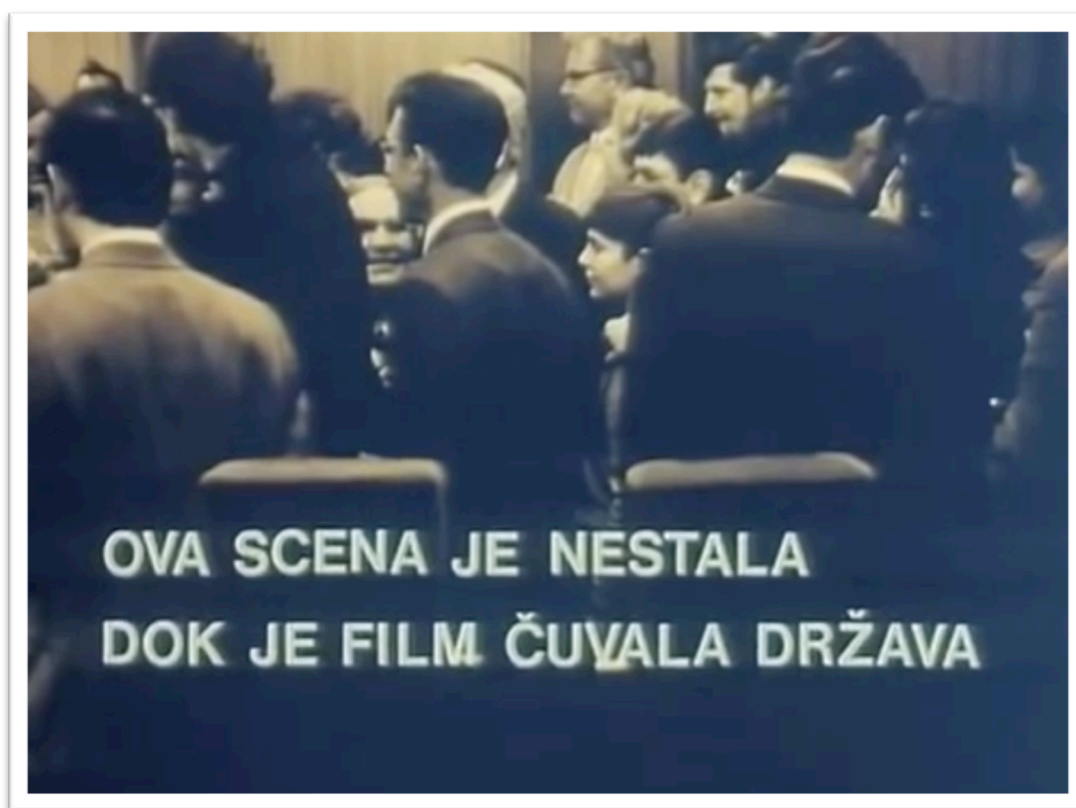


Figure 17.

Lazar Stojanović, *Plastic Jesus*, (1971 (released 1990)), still.

Subtitle reads, '*This scene disappeared while the this film was in the care of the state*'



Figure 18.

Braco Dimitrijević , *Slučajni Prolaznici koje sam sreo u 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 sati*, (*Casual Passers-by whom I met at 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 hours*), Zagreb, 1971



Figure 19.

The city's main square where portraits of Tito were regularly displayed during public holidays and celebrations.

This example shows an image of Tito in a public square, celebrating the New Year.



Figure 20.

Andy Warhol, *13 Most Wanted Men* (1964) World's Fair, New York



Figure 22.

Mladen Stilinović's, *1 Maj 1975*, (*1 May 1975*), (1975), Selection of photographs.

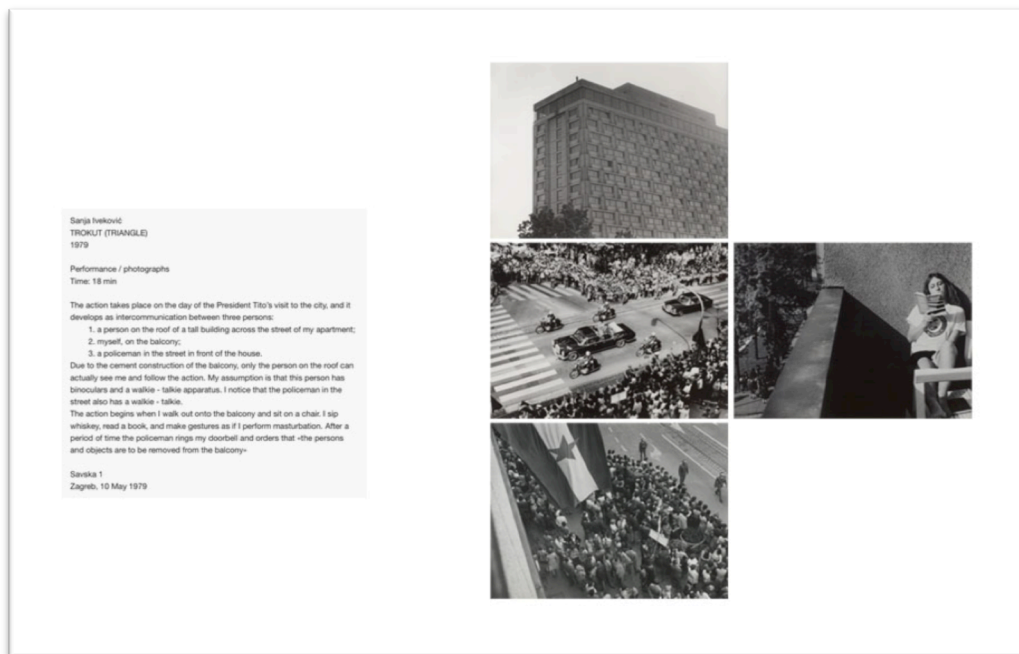


Figure 23.

Sanja Iveković, *Trokut (Triangle)*, (1979).

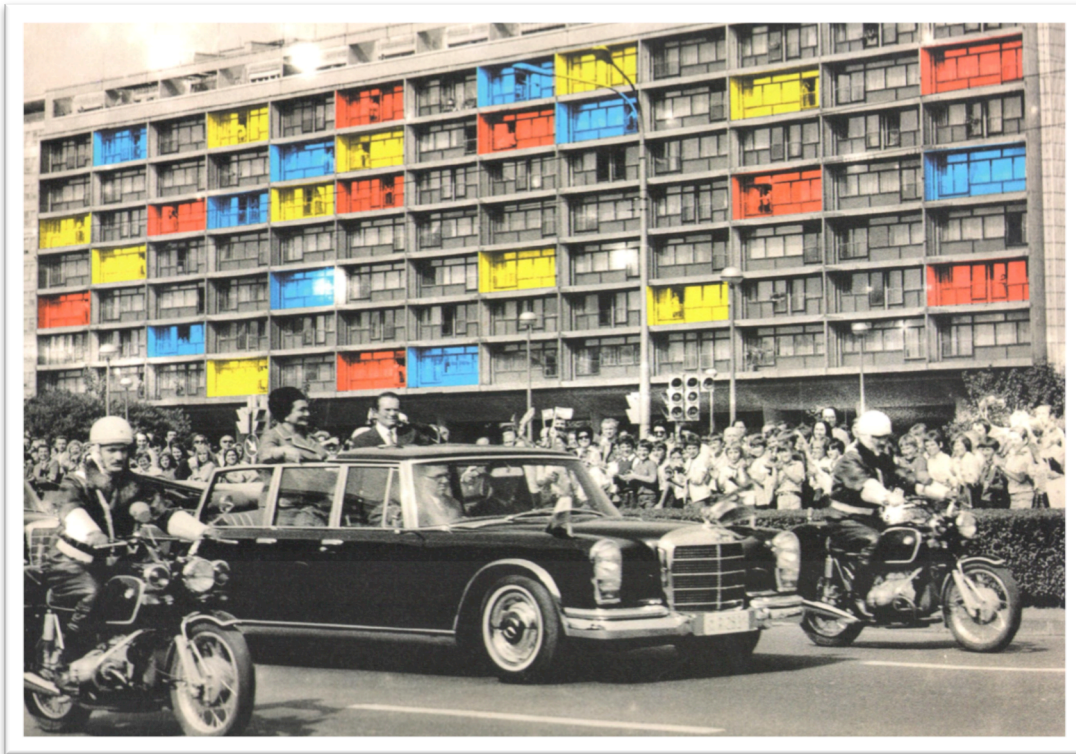


Figure 24.

Sanja Iveković, *Novi Zagreb. Ljudi Iza Prozora*, (*New Zagreb. People Behind Windows*), (1979).



Figure 23.

Selection of photographs from Mladen Stilinović's *1 Maj 1975*, (*1 May 1975*), (1975)

Chapter 7– Gender Difference In Yugoslav Pop And Female Artists' Use Of Tabloid Media

1. Yugoslav Pop Women – The Development of Feminist Agency

The project of writing feminist art history has been characterized by Griselda Pollock and Rozsika Parker as a double task consisting of 'the historical recovery of data about women producers of art', as well as a 'deconstruction of the discourses and practices of art history itself'.³⁵⁷ It is precisely such an approach – a study of the context and the highlighting of the previously under-researched content of art works– that is necessary in order to illuminate the practices of female artists engaging with Pop in Yugoslavia of 1960s and 1970s. The key question of this chapter is whether Pop Art held an emancipatory potential for Yugoslav women artists– whether the freedom afforded by Pop's cheap, accessible materials provided a new opportunities for artistic autonomy, giving agency to female artists and enabling them to 'act otherwise' within the complexities of Yugoslav patriarchy.³⁵⁸

This exploration of Yugoslav female artists' work from the perspective of their engagement with pop culture, aesthetics and materials, builds on recent feminist reappraisals of women's work from across the globe, which have produced illuminating new perspectives of Pop Art. Most notable of such initiatives have been the touring exhibitions 'Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958 –1968', curated by Sid Sachs (with the significant theoretical contribution in the catalogue by the feminist Pop Art historian Kalliopi

³⁵⁷ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and Histories of Art*, 3rd edn (Routledge, 2003), p. 77. Here Griselda Pollock refers to her book with Rozsika Parker, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (1981) in which they discuss the double project of feminist art history.

³⁵⁸ The term 'act otherwise' is introduced by Raymond Caldwell in writing about Foucault's conceptions of agency, in claiming that Foucault's concept of agency breaks the link between voluntary choice or a desire to 'act otherwise' and the 'moral, political and practical possibilities of making a difference'. Source: Raymond Caldwell, 'Agency and Change: Re-evaluating Foucault's Legacy', *Organization*, Volume 14(6), 2007, 769–791.

Minidouaki),³⁵⁹ and ‘POWER UP - Female Pop Art’³⁶⁰ curated by Angela Stief at the Vienna Kunsthalle, both of which took place in 2010/11. The study of Yugoslav female artists in the Pop context also complements numerous smaller initiatives centered on individual female Pop artists. They include the systematic work done at the Wolverhampton Art Gallery, whose Pop Art collection has been the catalyst for, amongst others, a solo exhibition of Jann Haworth (2009) and the first retrospective of the work of British Pop artist Pauline Boty (2013).³⁶¹ Equally the recognition of the Pop Art significance of Kiki Kogelnik,³⁶² as well as the reappraisal of the ‘Popishness’ of the work of artists like Martha Rosler and Lee Lozano, have also been instrumental in the initiative of rethinking the relationship between pop and female artists. Reaching beyond the Western canon, the significance of artists from Latin America, and Europe including Argentine artist Marta Minujín, Catalan artist Eulàlia Grau, Belgian artist Evelyne Axell, or to turn closer to Yugoslavia, artists from across eastern Europe such as the Slovak artist Jana Želibská and Poland’s Natalia LL, have all been instrumental in providing a more representative picture of what Pop was like in the 1960s and 1970s.

This chapter takes three stages to explore gender difference and its effects on the practices of female artists in Yugoslavia. Firstly, I will outline the shifts in the position of women in Yugoslav society from the late 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s, seeking to understand the way these changes affected

³⁵⁹ ‘Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists 1958 – 1968’, Rosenwald-Wolf Gallery with the Hamilton Hall Galleries and Borowsky Gallery, January 22 – March 15 2010, followed by a national tour to Elisabeth A Sackler Center for Feminist Art at the Brooklyn Museum, October 15 2010 – January 9 2011. Curated by: Sid Sachs. Artists: Evelyne Axell, Pauline Boty, Vija Celmins, Chrissy, Niki de Saint Phalle, Rosalyn Drexler, Dorothy Grebenak, Kay Kurt, Yayoi Kusama, Lee Lozano, Marisol, Mara McAfee, Barbro Östlihn, Faith Ringgold, Martha Rosler, Marjorie Strider, Alina Szapocznikow, Idelle Weber, Joyce Wieland and May Wilson.

³⁶⁰ ‘POWER UP - Female Pop Art’, Vienna Kunsthalle. 5.11.2010 – 8.3.2011 Curator: Angela Stief. Artists: Evelyne Axell, Sister Corita, Christa Dichgans, Rosalyn Drexler, Jann Haworth, Dorothy Iannone, Kiki Kogelnik, Marisol, Niki de Saint Phalle.

³⁶¹ Jann Haworth’s exhibition at Wolverhampton Art Gallery took place on 26 October 2009 - 10 April 2010. Many of Pauline Boty’s paintings were recovered from in a barn in Kent by Professor David Alan Mellor in the 1990s, and her work subsequently included in numerous exhibitions. The first retrospective of her work entitled ‘Pauline Boty: Pop Artist and Woman’ curated by Sue Tate, took place at the Wolverhampton Art Gallery in June - November 2013, and subsequently toured. Dr Sue Tate’s Doctoral Thesis ‘*Gendering the field: Pauline Boty and the predicament of the woman artist in the British pop art movement.*’ (University of the West of England, Bristol, 2004.) was significant in the rehabilitation of Boty’s work.

³⁶² Key solo exhibitions of the work of Kogelnik include: ‘Kiki Kogelnik – Retrospective’, Kunsthalle Krems, Krems, Austria, July 14 – October 6, 2013 and ‘Kiki Kogelnik - I Have Seen the Future’, Kunstverein, Hamburg, Germany, September 15, 2012 – January 6, 2013.

the work of female artists engaging with Pop. For this I will refer to feminist poststructuralist conceptions of agency, to tackle the complexity of Yugoslav gender relations from the perspective of agency as socially constituted.

Secondly, I will examine the representation of women in Pop Art works of the period. Finally, I will focus on works by three female Yugoslav artists who embraced Pop materials and techniques— Vera Fischer (1925 - 2009), Katalin Ladik (1942) and Sanja Iveković (1949), analyzing works made between 1965 and 1975. The choice to focus on these three artists, amongst several other female artists who engaged with pop culture in the 1960s and 1970s, is due to the diverging ways in which they deployed pop culture materials as tools to articulate their positions as female artists, but also their differing engagement with the emergence of feminist thought in the country.

The chapter focuses on the development of the female subject, and the processes of the artists *becoming* active agents, carving their own positions and speaking back through their works. I draw on poststructuralist feminist conceptions of agency as a set of social discursive practices and relations of power, as opposed to the notion of agency as individualistic and primarily tied to an individual's ability to act. According to the feminist theorist Bronwyn Davies, 'the subject itself is the effect of a production, caught in the mutually constitutive web of social practices, discourses and subjectivity'.³⁶³

Accordingly, these artists' works will be analysed in light of the limitations and possibilities of the Yugoslav environment, exploring the available subject positions, and the productive use of the emancipatory possibilities of Yugoslav self-management.

One of the key sites examined in this chapter are tabloid magazines, not because they provide a more meaningful insight into the social position of

³⁶³ Bronwyn Davies explains the difference between the humanist or individualistic conceptions of agency and the poststructuralist feminist view of agency. The former is tied to the rational aspects of the individual, envisaged as the individual's ability to perform rational, sanctioned acts which is, Davies claims, steeped in normative, masculine discourses. The latter sees agency as social and discursive. For further analysis see: Bronwyn Davies, 'The Concept of Agency: A Feminist Poststructuralist Analysis', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, No. 30('Postmodern Critical Theorising'), December 1991, 42–53.

women than any other medium, but because they perform a double function—acting as a site in which shifts in popular culture can be observed on almost a daily basis, while also being the source of imagery for Yugoslav Pop works or (in the case of collage) the actual material from which artworks were made.

2. The Mechanics Of Exclusion— The Missing Women Of Western Pop Art

To ask whether any female Pop artists emerged from the former Yugoslavia in 1960s and 1970s seems an odd question at best, given that dominant Western art historical narrative teaches us that Pop Art was a 1960s Anglo-American phenomenon— an explosion of 'cool', 'hygienic', extroverted artworks, made predominantly by male artists in New York and London, who embraced, and commented upon, consumerist pleasures, kitsch and popular imagery. Such a narrow definition of Pop which first emerged in the mid-1960s in the writings of Lucy Lippard, Lawrence Alloway and has been sustained by Marco Livingstone,³⁶⁴ amongst others, has since been heavily criticized by postcolonial and feminist scholars alike (as discussed in the introductory chapter), while also being revisited, and broadened, through the multitude of efforts to construct alternative and more inclusive Pop Art histories.

In the initial understanding of Pop Art's narrow scope, the primary role occupied by women was that of desirable objects of the male gaze depicted in Pop artworks, rather than their authors. Disembodied and fetishized, female limbs, chests and lips were ubiquitous in Pop works authored by male artists. The perspectives were diverse – from Richard Hamilton's critical exploration of visual representations of women and domestic appliances in *\$he* (1958 – 61)³⁶⁵ to fetishistic and, in some cases misogynist renderings of the female

³⁶⁴ The writing of Lucy Lippard, Lawrence Alloway, Marco Livingstone, Suzi Gablik which appears in key volumes about Pop Art as discussed in the introductory chapter.

³⁶⁵ In his work *I* (1958 – 61), which was the result of a period of research into consumer goods for the Independent Group lectures at the ICA, Richard Hamilton explored parallels in the visual representations machines and women. In the work he combined elements of adverts for domestic appliances with fragments of the image of a model taken from *Esquire* magazine. Hamilton's position is that of an analytical and knowing consumer, not necessarily critical of consumerism as such, but interested in the interplay between different types of image consumer culture was producing. Hamilton said in relation to this work: 'Sex is everywhere, symbolised in the glamour of mass-produced luxury – the interplay of fleshy plastic and smooth, fleshier metal.'

form in, for instance, Tom Wesselmann's series *The Great American Nude*³⁶⁶ of the 1960s and British artist Allen Jones' bondage-inspired images of highly sexualized female body parts, and sculptures of women as furniture. Within this range, some more exploitative and objectifying than others, women remained depicted, fetishised, at times dismembered and spoken about. Female voices remained unheard within the canonical Pop narrative.

But 1960s also saw proto-feminist works by female artists in key Pop cities of London and New York (but, as we will see in this chapter, also elsewhere), actively tackling Pop Art's misogyny.

Female perspectives problematizing consumerism and challenging representations of the female body and sexuality in canonical Pop were not hard to find, nor indeed inaccessible, but remained by and large ignored and unsupported by galleries and critics alike. Female artists were present and they were active, both in the hubs of Pop Art and elsewhere, yet they remained largely outside the sphere of interest of the gallerists, museums, critics and art historians who were shaping the history of Pop Art. Their invisibility had little to do with the nature of their work not fitting the narrow confines canonical Pop Art for reasons of material, subject matter or treatment, and everything to do with the structural sexism of the institutions and of the process of Pop's canonisation in the first place, as will be discussed further in this introduction.

Feminist art historian Kalliopi Minidouaki has problematised the canonical assertion that female artists abstained from Pop, but also the subsequent neglect of female Pop artists on the part of both Pop Art scholarship and feminist revisitations of Pop. In her discussion of Pop's canonisation, Minioudaki has analysed the process of formation of the narrow scope of Pop's key criteria to explain the process of exclusion of female artists from its canon. The tendency of canonical Pop Art writing to take an interest only in artworks in which commercial subject matter and mechanical production methods overlapped, as

<<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hamilton-he-t01190>>; Tate Website, last accessed 24 April 2014.

³⁶⁶ US artist Tom Wesselmann's series of paintings of female nudes rendered in patriotic palette of red white and blue, alongside gold and khaki with their military connotations.

well as the simplistic association of Pop with a 'detached cool' or 'hygienic look', according to Minioudaki, were the methods which enabled an 'boosted' the formation of canonical Pop. The exclusion of some women artists according to this logic saw them as 'not Pop enough' due to, for instance, their reliance on 'manual rather than mechanical production', or the fact that they 'depicted the figure instead of the mass-produced consumer object..³⁶⁷ But such logic could easily be debunked in the light of the similarity in technique used by, for instance the soft sculptures of Jann Haworth and those of Claes Oldenberg, or the manually painted canvases of David Hockney and those of Pauline Boty.

This initial exclusion, Minidouaki has argued, was made much more problematic by the subsequent omission of female pop artists by feminist critics. Works by female Pop artists fell 'between the cracks of histories' because they preceded the 'official eruption of feminism in the arts after the Women's Liberation Movement' coupled with the fact that the work, although critical and subversive, adopted the visual language of patriarchy therefore initially not being read as a feminist critique of that very language. This initial exclusion and subsequent misunderstanding has, Minidouaki claims, resulted in a double erasure of many female Pop Art protagonists.

The erasure, or misreading of Pop Art's intent was not only problematic in the interpretation of the work of female artists, as Pop works of all stripes were often initially read as affirmative and celebratory, only subsequently receiving multiple readings, which revealed deeper and more engaged intentions. In the words of artist Martha Rosler, alluding to the ease with which Pop's deeper meanings could be overlooked, 'Pop wants you to consume it in one go, and the allegorical level is often fairly deeply buried.'³⁶⁸ A similar point was made by Hal Foster who in an analysis of different readings of Andy Warhol's *Death in America* works, critiqued Thomas Crow's interpretation of the work as politically engaged. As opposed to Baudrillard's and Barthes' readings of

³⁶⁷ KalliopiMinioudaki and Sid Sachs, (Eds), *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958-1968* (Philadelphia PA: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2010), p. 92.

³⁶⁸ A statement from a conversation with Martha Rosler from *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists 1958-1968*, a film by 1997 Pew Fellow in the Arts Glenn Holsten. The film was made to accompany to the 2010 exhibition at the University of the Arts' Rosenwald-Wolf Gallery, <<https://vimeo.com/16773783>>, last accessed 22 January 2017

Death in America, which saw the work as embracing the ‘commodity-sign’ (Baudrillard) or as an attack on art (Barthes), Crow read it as an ‘expose of ‘complacent consumption’ through the brutal fact of accident and mortality’.³⁶⁹ Foster, critical of these readings too, argues that Crow’s interpretation of Warhol’s work as politically engaged is as much a projection, as was as the artist’s own statement of being superficial and ‘a machine’. But Foster goes on to propose we read Warhol as both critical and complacent, simultaneously connected and disconnected – proposing we see his work as ‘traumatic realism’ – seeing Warhol as not a blank subject, but a shocked one.³⁷⁰

The omission of female Pop protagonists is only in part due to potential slippage between the fast consumption of Pop Art, and the difficulty in detecting the potentially subversive meanings. The unwillingness of Pop’s early theorists to seek out those meanings at the time meant that female artists were initially marginalized, as the work did not conform to the formal look of Pop, and subsequently misunderstood (by feminist art criticism) for it looking too much like Pop.³⁷¹

If the Pop Art environment of 1960s in the West proved to be so inhospitable towards female artists, with little improvement in the subsequent canonisation of Pop, the situation in Yugoslavia of the 1960s was perhaps even more complex and difficult to navigate for female artists. The ‘women’s question’ (as any issues of gender difference were referred to at the time) in the Yugoslav environment of the 1950s and 1960s certainly shared the makings of the same discrimination present in Western art centres, but the situation was also further complicated by the fact that women’s supposed equality was a matter of pride for the country (as will be discussed below)– an appearance that Yugoslav leadership was keen to preserve.

³⁶⁹ Foster, ‘Death in America’.

³⁷⁰ For a full analysis of Foster’s ‘traumatic realism’ see ‘Death in America’.

³⁷¹ Minioudaki and Sachs, *Seductive Subversion*, pp. 90 –144.

3. The Fading Image of the War Heroine

The position of women, and certainly women artists who came of age in the 1960s and early 1970s in Yugoslavia was coloured by a conflicting value system. They found themselves uncomfortably negotiating the post-war legacy of the Antifascist Women's Front (*Antifašistički front žena* (AFŽ)) on the one hand, – and the female emancipation in which AFŽ had been instrumental – and, the gradual return of the pre-war bourgeois patriarchal traditions placing women in charge of the domestic sphere (whilst still retaining the outward image of social equality) on the other.³⁷²

The gulf between the rhetoric of socialist emancipation and the reality of women's lives was rapidly widening. The situation was further complicated by the proliferation of the schematic portrayal of women in magazines, Yugoslav film and advertising from the mid 1960s onwards. The public realm of media and advertising filled with women as sex symbols; temptresses; women as out of control (a particularly familiar trope in film in this period) or indeed women as consumers and housewives embracing the rapidly permeating consumer bliss of the new, Western-facing, liberalised Yugoslavia.³⁷³

But above all, this period saw the proliferation of a new image – the nude woman, supposedly enjoying her new sexual freedoms. As will be discussed

³⁷² The AFŽ was a women's social and political organisation founded on 6 December 1942 in Bosanski Petrovac in Bosnia, as part of the National Liberation Struggle (*Narodno-oslobodilačka Borba* (NOB)) during World War Two. AFŽ's goal was to unite all women in the struggle against the fascist enemy, through women's participation in armed operations and diversionary activities, organisation of child-care, and women's cultural and educational development. Following the liberation of the country, AFŽ engaged with war consequences through the care for war orphans and the wounded as well as cultural activity. AFŽ's work in women's emancipation consisted in opposing all forms of gender-based discrimination, ensuring women's inclusion in Yugoslav economic and political life. AFŽ was dissolved in 1953 when the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) decided that gender equality could be more effectively reached through non-gender specific agencies. AFŽ was criticised at the time for allegedly becoming too involved in politics (or for being too successful/having too much power), which also contributed to its demise. It appeared that equality and emancipation were only welcomed to a certain degree. For more information on AFŽ see: Sabrina P. Ramet, *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

³⁷³ Examples of films portraying women as passionate, out of control temptresses include *Lisice* (*Handcuffs*, Dir. Krsto Papic, 1969) and *Rani Radovi* (*Early Works*, Dir. Želimir Žilnik, 1968).

below, women's nude bodies became ubiquitous in the public realm – from the pages of a host of new tabloid magazines which swept the country from 1960s onwards, to Yugoslav as well as foreign films in which women were frequently aligned with self-indulgence, gluttony and subsequently punished – as will be discussed in the section 'Woman as a Virus of Consumerism'.

By the early 1960s, the project of the emancipation of Yugoslav women had become stranded somewhere between the rapidly fading public remembrance of the achievements of women during World War Two– the perception of women as heroines, Partisans, as 'historical subjects'³⁷⁴ and the proliferation of new and highly public imagery of the supposedly liberated and supposedly equal worker-consumer woman in magazines, advertising and film. The modern Yugoslav woman was supposed to somehow embody all these ideals in one, while the environment which was to enable her to do so continued to send out mixed messages.

While policies ensuring equal rights to education, work, family planning³⁷⁵ and access to abortion (legalised in 1952 'for medical, social and related reasons'³⁷⁶) certainly addressed the position of women in broad terms, formally declaring equality according to socialist ideology, they did little to challenge the deep-set patriarchy of the private sphere, as was discussed at length in Bojana Pejić's writing in *Gender Check*.³⁷⁷ The gulf between policy and everyday life in the domestic realm demonstrated that little had changed in women's private lives, despite jubilant speeches and egalitarian policies. Expectations placed upon women as 'natural' primary carers and home-makers lingered, alongside the lingering sexism which was carried over from the pre-war bourgeois society. If anything, in socialist Yugoslavia, women's roles became more complex, in a negotiation of what has since been theorised by feminist scholars as the

³⁷⁴ Bojana Pejić argues that women who were briefly visible on the historical stage as 'historical' subjects during the Revolution soon disappeared from both socialist daily life and official Yugoslav histories. See Bojana Pejić, 'The Morning After: Plavi Radion, Abstract Art, and Bananas', in *Gender Check*, p. 97.

³⁷⁵ Family planning services were part of regular medical provision in Yugoslavia since the mid-1950s, with contraception being offered free of charge. Source: Population Policy Data Bank maintained by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, <www.un.org/esa/population/publications/abortion/doc/yugoslavia.doc>, last accessed 20 August 2016.

³⁷⁶ Ramet, *Gender Politics*, p. 96.

³⁷⁷ Pejić, 'The Morning After', p.97.

division between 'public patriarchy' (the state) and 'private patriarchy' (the family).³⁷⁸ Socialist regimes, more broadly, were often characterised by contradictory goals in their policies toward women: 'They wanted workers as well as mothers, token leaders as well as quiescent typists.'³⁷⁹ Despite the public declaration of her equality with male counterparts, the Yugoslav *drugarica* (comradess) lived with the expectation of always being well dressed and groomed as well as being a fast and efficient homemaker. This was summed up in the speech by the Slovenian socialist leader Vida Tomšič in 1948 in which she explained how the 'comradess' would ideally aspire to fulfilling all of these roles:

'... all that we want – beauty, joy and diversity. We should teach our women how to dress well and how to clean their homes so they can do it quickly.'³⁸⁰

Within the rhetoric of equality and 'brotherhood and unity', which brought together people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds across Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces, lay the sweeping generalisation that 'the women's question' had simply been 'resolved'.³⁸¹ Feminist scholars have criticised the Yugoslav system for failing to 'take up the task of using the educational system to reshape people's thinking about gender differences'³⁸² and thus failing to encourage shifts in thinking about gender-defined social roles. But the infrastructure for such a reshaping was not present until the late 1970s.

The first feminist conference in Yugoslavia was held in Belgrade's Student Cultural Centre (SKC) in 1978. Its title was *Drug-ca žena* (Comradess Woman) and it was a constitutive event for the entire feminist movement in the country. Organised by one of the pioneering feminist activists at the time, the

³⁷⁸ For a detailed discussion of changing gender roles see: Pejić, 'The Morning After', p. 97 – 110.

³⁷⁹ Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, (Eds.), 'Introduction', *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics, and Everyday Life After Socialism*, (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) p. 6.

³⁸⁰ Vida Tomšič, 'Speech to the Anti-Fascist Women's Front Plenum', October 10 1948, as quoted by Bojana Pejić in 'The Morning After', p. 97.

³⁸¹ The well-known Croatian poet Vladimir Nazor proclaimed publicly in January 1944, in a speech entitled 'From Amazon to Partisan' that the 'women's question is resolved' as part of the new Yugoslavia's political position with regards to gender difference. Quoted by Bojana Pejić in 'The Morning After', p. 99.

³⁸² Sabrina P. Ramet, 'In Tito's Time', in *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans*, p. 95.

Belgrade-based sociologist Žarana Papić, the conference included participants from Italy, France, and the UK as well as from across Yugoslavia, and was organised around themes such as ‘Women/Capitalism/Social Change’, ‘Women/Culture’ and ‘Women/Capitalism/Revolution’. Amongst around thirty participants were renowned figures including the British psychoanalyst and academic Parveen Adams, French art critic and curator Catherine Millet, as well as the Yugoslav Indologist Rada Iveković (close relative of artist Sanja Iveković, the significance of which will be discussed further on), then based in Rome, and the author Slavenka Drakulic.³⁸³

Although platforms for feminist discourse soon began to form following the conference (such as the activities under the banner *Zena i Društvo* (Woman and Society) which began in Zagreb in 1979, and the group Lilith in Slovenia), these were small, still isolated initiatives organised by groups with limited reach. It was only when the 'Women and Society' group, organized by Rada Iveković, Lydia Sklevitsky and Slavenka Drakulic in Zagreb (meeting at the Croatian Sociological Association) began to analyse school texts, (which had been approved by the League of Communists) that a critique of the sexist content and tone began to develop.³⁸⁴

In line with this view, the Yugoslav sociologist and feminist Lydia Sklevitsky attributed the conflicting expectations of women in post-war Yugoslavia to the 'patriarchal universality' embedded in the educational system. In her study of women's emancipation in Yugoslavia and the legacy of AFŽ, (published posthumously in 1996 by Dunja Rihtman Augustin),³⁸⁵ Sklevitsky pointed to not only the omissions of women's experiences, but the prevailing patriarchal values embedded in educational material. She highlighted the ways in which women in history books most often appeared in the roles of mothers, wives, companions and rarely possessing any agency. In a quantitative analysis of Yugoslav primary school history text books, poignantly titled *Horses, Women,*

³⁸³ For further information see the Masters thesis of Chiara Bonfiglioli, *Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach Thirty Years After*, Utrecht University, August 2008.

³⁸⁴ Ibid, section 5.3, entitled ‘Our Swirl In The Water - Feminism and Gender Relations Thirty Years After’, discussing the legacy of *Drug-ca Žena*, pp. 104 – 111.

³⁸⁵ The publication *Horses, Women, Wars* emerged from the doctoral research into the work on the legacy of AWF undertaken by Lydia Sklevitsky until her premature death in 1990. The publication was edited by her supervisor Dunja Rihtman Augustin.

Wars (conducted up to 1986), Sklevitsky examined the frequency of imagery portraying men, women, children and animals, in order to ascertain how women's historical achievements were perceived and taught to school children.³⁸⁶ She discovered a ratio of 985 images of men, against only 91 of women, but 203 images of animals.³⁸⁷ Sklevitsky pointed to the emphasis on the role of soldiers (as the history being taught was primarily a study of conflict, war and uprisings– the ‘grand narratives’– and not ‘history from below’, which would include women’s experiences). The role of the horse as a soldier’s trusted companion explains why the four-legged creature appears more frequently than women.

Sklevitsky, with reference to Gerda Lerner and the work of early 20th century women's studies, called for a gradual introduction of categories into the Yugoslav education system such as sexuality, reproduction, and gender roles as a way of revisiting Yugoslav social history– categories that should then be analyzed in light of class, race, ethnic and religious belonging (a more complex view of identity, today referred to as intersectionality).³⁸⁸ Sklevitsky's analysis of women’s position highlighted the process by which generations of women and men have been socialised into believing in the lack of women’s achievements in their national histories – the 'all-encompassing patriarchy'.

Sklevitsky attributed the Yugoslav state's way of dealing with the gulf between the rhetoric of gender equality and women's historical invisibility to the phenomenon known as the 'invention of tradition' introduced by the Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, according to which ‘a set of practices ... of a ritual or symbolic nature... seeks to inculcate certain values

³⁸⁶ Sklevitsky referred to the study undertaken by Croatian sociologies Rajka Polic entitled 'Historical Conflict of Myths about Women's Emancipation' 'Woman', Zagreb 1986; a paper which was initially presented during the postgraduate seminar entitled 'Woman and Society' in 1984/85 organised by the Sociological Association of Croatia.

³⁸⁷ Lydia Sklevicky, and Dunja Rihtman Augustin, *Konji, Žene, Ratovi* (Zagreb: Ženska Infoteka, 1996), 'Table 1', Frequency of the appearance of images of men, women, children and animals in all history textbooks (school textbooks, working notebooks, history readers) between 5th and 8th grade of primary school, p. 19.

³⁸⁸ Sklevicky, Lydia and Rihtman- Auguštin, Dunja, *Konji, Žene, Ratovi* (Zagreb, Ženska infoteka, 1996), p. 16.

and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past³⁸⁹ thus producing fictitious continuity.

The Yugoslav state's repeated assertion that gender equality was one of its main successes, was matched by the implication that women had always been practically integrated into the revolutionary (socialist, communist) tradition, repeatedly pressing the point with the view to making it seem more real, while simultaneously erasing those very women from its historical narratives. The Yugoslav state's invention of tradition could be seen, for instance, in the strategic foregrounding in newspapers and propaganda news bulletins (Filmske Novosti), of women in images of factories and work actions, depicting women engaging in the exactly the same forms of, often heavy, physical labour (Fig.1) as their male counterparts. Such imagery illuminates the paradox created by invented tradition, that Sklevitsky points to – the false impression that women have all along been equally present, occupying the same ranks as men and– one would deduce– enjoying the same access to the country's institutions and decision-making processes. By 'naturalising' the participation of women, depicting it as if it had been an organic and unquestionable development, the invented tradition created a 'cultural arbitrary' in which women's place was simultaneously central and ineffective. In an articulation of agency, seeking to illustrate the position of women as non-agents within patriarchy (in the context of agency as individualistic, not socially produced), feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith offers a metaphor of a ball game:

'It is like a game in which there are more presences than players. Some are engaged in tossing a ball between them; others are consigned to the role of audience and supporter, who pick up the ball if it is dropped and pass it back to the players. They support, facilitate, encourage but their action does not become part of the play.'³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 1.

³⁹⁰ Smith's metaphor is from *The Everyday World As Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (Boston MA: Northeastern University Press, 1987), as quoted in Bronwyn Davies, 'The concept of Agency: A Feminist Poststructuralist Analysis', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 30, pp. 42-53, p. 45.

Like the non-agents of Smith's game, present and visible but with limited possibility to affect 'the game', change its rules or the results, the status of Yugoslav women was invaluable and crucial to the image of Yugoslavia, and genuinely significant in the realities of post-war recovery (in terms of necessary labour), but limited to 'support roles' and instrumentalised for other purposes, rather than offering possibilities for women to define their own course of action.

4. Women as a Virus of Consumerism

While there was little space for expressions of women's points of view in the public realm, women had never been more visible than in the late 60s and throughout the 70s. Their presence though, was a passive one, as pin-ups in the newly launched tabloid magazines such as *Čik*, *Adam and Eve* and *Start*. Women were also the primary target audience (and protagonists) of advertising messages, in particular for products that had to do with the domestic realm, food or family. Public image of women rapidly shifted from 'petrified femininity'³⁹¹ – women as depicted in monuments erected to commemorate anti-fascist heroines of AFŽ, to pin ups, models in adverts (as well as their main audience), and most commonly in roles of temptresses (who are eventually punished) in numerous Yugoslav films of the 1950s onwards including *Lisice* (*Handcuffs*, Dir. Krsto Papic, 1969) and *Rani Radovi* (*Early Works*, Dir. Želimir Žilnik, 1968). Such imagery and narratives as a frequent feature in Yugoslav cinema, doubled up as an occasion to feature an attractive (often nude) young woman, who is punished for her behaviour and the freedom she has acquired.³⁹²

³⁹¹ Term used by Bojana Pejić in *Gender Check*.

³⁹² Such examples have been elaborated in the work of art historians Ivana Bago and Antonia Majaca. The question of female guilt, in particular with reference to female roles in Yugoslav films, is discussed at length in Ivana Bago's text, 'The Question of Female Guilt in Sanja Iveković's Art –From Yugoslav Beauty Pageants to Wartime Witch-Hunts', in Helena Reckitt, (Ed), *Sanja Iveković, Unknown Heroine - A Reader*, (London: Calvert 22 Foundation, 2013), p. 62 - 88; for the analysis of the character 'Yugoslava' in Želimir Žilnik's film *Early Works*, see the project 'Feminist Takes on Yugoslav Black Wave Film', <<http://www.delve.hr/projects/removed-from-the-crowd/feminist-takes-on-yugoslav-black-wave-film>>, last accessed 15 December 2016.

The association between women and consumerism– the notion of women as a 'virus' through which consumerism spread across the country, seemed to inform female representation in all spheres of life in patriarchal Yugoslavia of the 1950s and 1960s. Art historian Branislav Dimitrijević , addressing the rise of consumerism in Yugoslavia, has written about the perceived relationship between women and consumerism at the time. The very notion of pleasures derived from the consumption of material goods or entertainment for its own sake was complicated in Yugoslavia by 'two parallel but conflicting forms of cultural logics'³⁹³– the logic of Partisan asceticism and, on the other hand, utopian consumerism.

While the communists saw the programme of industrialisation and economic development as an act of social modernisation, another more traditional logic lingered from the war, employing the Partisan ethics of an ascetic way of living, according to which any form of unnecessary pleasure or entertainment was seen as self-indulgent and unproductive.³⁹⁴ The belief in asceticism and modesty inherited from the (relatively recent) Partisan struggles was adopted as the official rhetoric, and *modus operandi* of the country. While Yugoslav citizens by no means lived a life of scarcity, their leisure time was frequently linked to their working lives and organised (and thus also monitored) by the enterprises where they were employed. Aside from the Work Actions (*Radne Akcije*) described in Chapter 3, Yugoslav citizens were also expected to partake in highly-prescribed forms of state celebrations of national holidays, for which Yugoslav citizens would gather on the streets, or once televisions became household items – in front of the TV. A key element of Yugoslav everyday life incorporated enterprise-sponsored annual leave, rehabilitation on the coast from any injuries and enterprise day outings– state sponsored, and controlled, forms of wellness, leisure and celebration.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Branislav Dimitrijević , *Utopijski Konzumerizam: Nastanak I Protivrečnosti Potrošacke Kulture u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1950 - 1970)*, Doctoral Dissertation, Belgrade, University of The Arts, Belgrade, 2011, p. 132, translation by Lina Džuverović.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Leisure time, public holidays and entertainment in Yugoslavia are discussed in Luthar and Pušnik,, (Eds), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*.

The state-orchestrated forms of popular culture and leisure were, on the other hand, matched by a different vision of life influenced by the fast-growing consumer society. The rapidly expanding consumer imagery constructed a very different image of Yugoslav everyday life – this was the budding notion of ‘lifestyle’ as discussed in Chapter 3. Leisure and life outside work were visually represented (in magazines, films, advertising, and television) by alluring images of consumer bliss, featuring modern homes, designer appliances, sport, fashionable clothes, holidays and cars. Women’s association with consumerism, as discussed by Dimitrijević, can be attributed to the fact that the two most aggressively marketed spheres were fashion and domestic products/appliances, both traditionally associated with women. Women thus became the prime market for advertising leading to an association with spending and indulgence. This position was not dissimilar to the role of their Western counterparts, as observed by Linda Nochlin in writing about American and British women’s role in capitalism: ‘On the one hand, they were considered the primary agents of consumerism; ads for hard goods, innovative products, new cleansers, clothes, and cosmetics as well as food and drink were aimed directly at them; on the other hand, women themselves were made into a product in popular culture, or at least productlike [...]’.³⁹⁶

The goal of production in Yugoslavia during the 1950s and 60s, Dimitrijević argued, was not comfort or ‘gratuitous’ consumption, but the fuelling of the country’s industrialisation. While the consumption of fashion and domestic products were both aspects of consumerist behaviour that were broadly tolerated and could ‘pass’ as relatively practical needs, the unresolved tensions between socialist asceticism and the newly developing consumer culture meant that in Yugoslav patriarchy women now appeared as ‘spoiled’ for having developed desires that reached beyond just a basic, practical existence.

Looking at a sample of adverts for washing powder from the tabloid *Ilustrovana Politika* (Illustrated Politics) in 1970 (Fig. 2), we see young, fashionably dressed women, photographed in motion, as if on their way out of the house, as they delight in their allegedly excellent choice of washing powder

³⁹⁶ Linda Nochlin, ‘Running on Empty: Women Pop and the Society of Consumption’ in Minioudaki and Sachs, (Eds), *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958-1968*, p. 15.

which is about to 'do the work for them' while they busy themselves with being 'girls about town'. Here we have the women that the socialist leader Vida Tomšič was hoping to educate to become supreme multi-taskers, in her speech some 22 years earlier— glamorous and joyful and doing their housework quickly, just as she'd hoped.³⁹⁷ The only problem was that in the meantime these emancipated women ceased to fit so well into a society that still heavily relied on traditional forms of unpaid, invisible domestic labour. Perhaps the fashionably dressed ladies from washing powder adverts were doing their housework a little *too* quickly and efficiently, just like AFŽ had done with its emancipatory work. Perhaps, the 'beauty, joy and diversity' of which Tomšič spoke, were, after all, not exactly what Yugoslav bureaucrats had in mind for their women.

5. Pinups and Critical Thinkers— Yugoslav Tabloid Magazines

The biggest shift in the portrayal of women in the media was to be found in the rapid emergence of new tabloid magazines featuring pin-ups in the 1960s and early 1970s. Yugoslavia had a long tradition of women's magazines (magazines aimed at women) such as *Bazar* (which started in 1964 and was published by *Politika*, the communist party publishing house), *Prakticna Zena* (Practical Woman) (1956), *Duga* (The Rainbow) (from early 1970s), *Ukus* (Taste) dating back to 1946, as well as the Zagreb-published magazine *Svijet* (The World), which launched in 1926. Naturally all these magazines primarily featured images of women (at first hand-rendered illustrations, later photographs) which were aimed at other women, and predominantly took the form of fashion spreads or images accompanying practical advice columns. Although conservative to varying degrees in their traditionalist approach to women's roles and consequently in their choice of topics (practical advice on homemaking, dressmaking patterns, recipes, fiction and first person experiences), these magazines offered a space for shared concerns and issues that were pertinent to women and in some ways provided a sense of community.

³⁹⁷ Vida Tomšič's 'Speech to the Anti-Fascist Women's Front Plenum', October 10 1948 as quoted by Bojana Pejić in 'The Morning After: Plavi Radion, Abstract Art, and Bananas', *Gender Check*, p. 97.

A new and very different type of magazine emerged in the mid-Sixties. In 1963 the magazine *Čik* launched in Belgrade, and was the first to feature a naked female body as an illustration for an article with political content (the word *Čik* is part of a dare '*Čik pogodi*' meaning 'go guess' and the title translates as *Tease*).³⁹⁸ *Čik* was progressive in its design, featuring Pop-inspired, colourful covers, (Fig. 3) catering to a young, modern, implicitly male audience. It included a Batman comic and an array of light-hearted, 'fun', tongue-in-cheek stories (and photo stories), interviews with local pop stars (for instance the cover of April 1969 issue featured a text about the local singer Leo Martin, which was announced on the cover as '*Čik* star Leo Martin– Better than Tom Jones'). Features included titles such as 'Contest for the best legs' (Fig. 4), or pseudo-stories such as 'Hopping balloons are coming into fashion' served as barely held-together narratives spun around particular photo shoots of nude or semi-nude women. The majority of the content of *Čik* was primarily centred on objectifying women's bodies and the magazine was an example of the playground the printed media had become, demonstrating the full extent of gender inequality.

While the above magazines were openly dedicated to erotic content – a niche area– by the early 1970s women were no less objectified in the publishing mainstream. Any pseudo-journalistic story was reason enough to print images of naked or partially clad women's bodies in a variety of readily available tabloids. Mainstream family magazines such as the aforementioned popular weekly *Ilustrovana Politika* (*Illustrated Politics*) often found ways to publish images of nude female bodies, whether as illustrations for articles or as page three type topless pictures of singers or actresses under the pretence of offering coverage of their work. The discrepancy between image and text is evident in features about female 'artists' which depicted their flesh, not their art. An example of such a story appeared in the tabloid *Adam i Eva* 'supposedly covering the work of the poet and artist Katalin Ladik (Fig 10) (whose collage works will be discussed further in this chapter) in which the author unconvincingly attempts to write about Ladik's poetry:

³⁹⁸ Biljana Žikić, 'Dissidents Liked Pretty Girls: Nudity, Pornography and Quality Press in Socialism', *Medij. Istraz.*, 16, 1, 2010, 53 – 71.

They say she is the most sexual poetess in the country. Katalin Ladik lives in Novi Sad. She is 27 years old. She is cute and always smiling.[...]Her poems are undeniably good! But it is something else that propelled Katalin Ladik into the spotlight: she most often recites her poetry naked. Not completely naked, because it is just symbolic, she covers herself with a sheet, blanket or a fur throw. Katalin gladly recites her poetry with a musical accompaniment. Her instrument is a sort of a bagpipe. The music irresistibly reminds us of something mystical, oriental.[...].³⁹⁹

This essentialist view of Ladik as somehow primal and mystical, or 'oriental' (equated with being mysterious, other, foreign) alludes to the notion of woman as 'wild' and 'impulsive', making art consisting of female utterances which are purportedly beyond comprehension to the male viewer/listener. For the author, the woman is animalistic; emitting sounds and creating poetry that is somehow mysterious, operating on some 'female instinctual level'. Indicative of the article's misogyny is the notion of women as other, incomprehensible beings, as 'speaking in tongues', not making any sense; all of which seems perfectly acceptable to the author because from his point of view, the *raison d'être* of women is, after all, just physical seduction. The pseudo-review of Ladik's poetry is in fact simply a feeble excuse in the form of a textual accompaniment of the semi-nude images of the attractive artist, which were, of course, the point of the magazine's coverage of Ladik in the first place.

Even though pornography was forbidden in Yugoslavia, given the official view that it was a sign of 'moral decay caused by the capitalist mode of production',⁴⁰⁰ its definition was not clear and imagery of naked women in Yugoslav dailies was seen as acceptable because it was read as erotic, not pornographic. The sheer proliferation of erotic imagery led to the introduction of the 'Law of the Tax On Books, Magazines and Other Publications'⁴⁰¹ in 1971, which attempted to suppress 'tendencies of commercialisation and

³⁹⁹ Source: P. Matic, 'The Naked Poet', *Adam i Eva*, June 10th 1970, pp. 21, as reproduced in Miško Šuvaković, *The Power Of A Woman - Katalin Ladik*, p. 92.

⁴⁰⁰ Žikić, 'Dissidents Liked Pretty Girls'.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, p. 56.

corruption of the socialist value system, but ended up only making cosmetic changes, such as changing magazine names.⁴⁰²

This liberal attitude to sex manifested itself in the relative tolerance towards sexually explicit content in all media; with the best known examples of explorations of sexual liberation appearing in 'Black Wave' films, whose directors such as Dušan Makavejev, Lazar Stojanović, Želimir Žilnik, Karpo Godina⁴⁰³ and others, embraced these freedoms by pushing the limits of what could feasibly be shown on film (some of these films were discussed in Chapter 6, in the context of critical engagement with the system and representations of Tito). As it happens, numerous 'Black Wave' films did face censorship. But this was less to do with their explicit sexual content, and more with specific instances of suggestive juxtapositions of footage of opposing political regimes which were deemed damaging to Tito's and Yugoslavia's image, as was discussed in the previous chapter.

Tellingly, at a conference which took place in 1975 in Zagreb aimed at improving the quality of the country's entertainment media (*Zabavna stampa i ostala zabavna literatura* (Entertainment press and other entertainment literature)), few solutions were found to the 'problem' of sexual content in the entertainment press, and the only conclusion reached was that the arbitrary standards of popular press came about because the 'socialist concept of popular culture was missing'.⁴⁰⁴ This pointed to the conflicting and ambivalent value system as discussed in previous chapters. While pornography may have been associated with moral decay, erotica was deemed to be liberating– and the boundaries between the two remained blurred, which was convenient from the vantage point of the male-dominated socialist establishment.

⁴⁰² Ibid, quoting Popović, p. 56.

⁴⁰³ 'Black Wave' film is an overarching term used to refer to films belonging to the critical, unconventional wave of film-making that emerged in Yugoslavia in 1960s and 1970s. 'Black Wave' films experimented with camera technique, editing and narrative and in most cases included sexually explicit content and an overt critique of Yugoslavia's system. Key film-makers associated with Black Wave Film are Dušan Makavejev, Žika Pavlović, Saša Petrović, Želimir Žilnik, Mika Antić, Lordan Zafranović, Mića Popović and Marko Babac.

⁴⁰⁴ Zikic, 'Dissidents Liked Pretty Girls'.

6. Sex As The Domain Of The Sixty-Eight Generation

While the authorities only tolerated it, the younger generations embraced and celebrated all forms of explicit imagery as signifiers of a new, more liberal Yugoslavia. Sexual freedoms were embraced by the *sezdesetosmasi*– the Serbo-Croat term for the ‘68 generation’–of Westernised, well-travelled, politicised and modern Yugoslavs, for whom images of the naked (female) body signified a break with socialist impositions on all aspects of life. Sex became a realm that young people could ‘own’, a territory that was outside the sphere of all-encompassing socialist control and prescribed behaviour. Sexual liberation was aligned with the Sixties’ loosening of moral judgement of sex outside marriage, and a break from the rigid gendered social roles as hitherto imposed by the patriarchy of the 1950s. But liberating as it may have appeared, this particular form of freedom was based on the age-old model of women appearing and men acting, operating entirely within traditional patriarchal logic and gender constructions.

Ironically, nude images of women were perceived by the Yugoslav liberals as a contributing factor to the equality of the sexes. Attempts at distinctions between Western images of nudity and socialist ones were made, in an effort to present the local version of nudity as somehow more artistic and purer, in contrast with the Western ‘non-artistic’ forms. For instance as observed by anthropologist Biljana Žikić, a piece on the Czech striptease ‘artist’ Sonia Stenova in *Start* magazine, issue 1, 1969, quoted her as explaining that ‘Striptease in the Western fashion– no. But striptease with aesthetic ballet and choreographic elements – yes.’⁴⁰⁵ Equally, sharp critiques of Western erotic films as morally bankrupt and utterly unacceptable in Yugoslav society regularly appeared in magazines, alongside centrefolds featuring numerous explicit stills from the very same films.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ Žikić, ‘Dissidents Liked Pretty Girls’; Žikić is quoting from *Start* magazine.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid

7. Start Magazine – The Yugoslav Playboy

The growing pains of the process of liberalisation sometimes made for incongruous reading, such as, for instance, the conflicting brand identity of the a hybrid magazine *Start* (Yugoslavia's answer to *Playboy*) which launched in 1969. The first issue of *Start* featured a soft-core pornographic image of a naked woman on the cover (as did every other issue until the magazine's demise in 1991), and yet its editorial stated that this was 'a magazine for every family, and for each of our citizens'.⁴⁰⁷ *Start* grew to become one of the most respected intellectual platforms in the country, featuring current affairs articles, in-depth interviews with key international cultural and political figures, as well as essays by key Yugoslav intellectuals. But alongside such credible intellectual content and political debate, the magazine became famous for featuring centrefold pinup images (from issue five onwards). Its editors saw these as emancipatory and not at odds with the rest of the content of the magazine. 'Nudity is a slap in the face of a patriarchal wimp', wrote a journalist in an article in *Start* in 1979, going on to speak of the subversive nature of the mini-skirt explaining that 'the flash of female thighs, with the barely covered bottom is equal to a nuclear assault on patriarchy'.⁴⁰⁸

Of course, what was problematic is that it was only the naked *female* body that acted as 'a slap in the face of a patriarchal wimp' in Yugoslavia, because when the first image of a naked male (a well-known footballer) appeared in a popular youth magazine *Polet* (translated as *Zest* or *Verve*) as late as 1980, it caused a public outrage, with the claim that such imagery was 'jeopardising public morals'.⁴⁰⁹ This particular issue of *Polet* magazine was promptly withdrawn from newsstands and the photograph of the naked footballer was judged in court as pornographic.⁴¹⁰ *Start* magazine was the first to problematise such double standards, asking 'How come that photos of naked men jeopardise public morals while photos of naked women do not?'⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid; Žikić is quoting the editorial of *Start*, issue 1, 1969.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid; Žikić is quoting an article in *Start*, issue 269, 1979.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid; Žikić is describing the case of *Polet* magazine being prohibited.

⁴¹¹ Ibid, Žikić is quoting the title of the article in *Start*.

Paradoxically, in the 1980s *Start* even became a well-respected platform for feminist writing and was briefly edited by Vesna Kesić, a prominent Yugoslav feminist and activist. For Kesić, *Start* stood in opposition to the 'prevailing socialist ideals of self-sacrifice and moral purity of women'⁴¹² and for her the erotic content was widely understood to represent a form of sexual liberation – a worldview of the 1968 generation which contested all forms of repression. At the same time Kesić was keen to highlight that *Start* portrayed a 'distorted notion of women's freedom', further problematising the paradox of the magazine's editorial policy.

8. Body Parts: The Female Body In Yugoslav Pop Artists' Work

It did not take long for popular culture and consumerism to begin to appear in Yugoslav artworks via the promise of glamour, ideal homes and consumer excess as depicted in magazines, TV and films. The actual objects of consumer dreams and lifestyle may not have been available in Yugoslavia, but their imagery was certainly deeply burned into the Yugoslav consciousness through films, pop music and magazines, as was discussed at length in Chapter 3.⁴¹³ Cars, fashion models, pin-ups, food, household objects and appliance adverts began to appear in Yugoslav artists' work in the early to mid-1960s, either through the use of magazine collage, or paintings and screen prints of consumer imagery, often appropriated from foreign adverts.

But within these themes, it was the over-sexualised female body as the object of the male gaze that was more readily imported into artworks than other images associated with consumer culture. Even if the average Yugoslav man was not in a position to 'achieve' the promise of consumer bliss through the ownership of dream homes and cars, Yugoslavia had no shortage of

⁴¹² Ivana Bago, 'The Question of Female Guilt in Sanja Iveković's Art: From Yugoslav Beauty Pageants to Wartime Witch-Hunts', in Helena Reckitt, (Ed.), *Sanja Iveković. 'Unknown Heroine. A Reader'*, (London: Calvert 22 Foundation, 2013); Bago quotes on page 76 from Vesna Kesić's 'A Response to Catherine MacKinnon's Article "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide"', *Hastings Women's Law Journal*, 5, 1994, 267-280..

⁴¹³ Yugoslavs would frequently travel to Trieste, the closest shopping destination in Italy, to buy goods such as coffee, trainers and jeans, which then had to be smuggled back.

glamorous, beautiful women, whose images were now readily available for 'consumption' across media, alongside foreign models and stars, (as the instance of Katalin Ladik's portrayal highlighted earlier in this chapter has demonstrated).

Yugoslavia was beginning to create its own galaxy of glamorous actresses and singers, who, complicit with the mechanisms of promotion and mediation, regularly appeared on the pages of tabloid magazines. Tabloid images of *nase zene* (our women) was one way of bringing the glamour home.

By the early 1960s Pop Art was beginning to permeate the Yugoslav cultural space with Robert Rauschenberg's well-publicized first prize at the 1963 Graphics Biennial in Ljubljana, which preceded his appearance at the Venice Biennale the following year. Slovenian artists, who could broadly be characterised as belonging to the school of 'expressive figuration' (discussed in Chapter 5) such as Boris Jesih, Janez Bernik, Lojze Logar and Franc Novinc, turned to fetishistic depictions of pin-ups and representations of isolated parts of women's bodies. Perhaps this was as a direct influence of the exhibition of 'Pop Art Graphics' (1965), which was held in Ljubljana's Moderna Galerija, under the auspices of the Fifth Annual Exhibition of the 5th Graphics Biennial.⁴¹⁴ The exhibition featured works by Roy Lichtenstein, Allen Jones, Colin Self, James Rosenquist, Andy Warhol and Tom Wesselmann (amongst others), featuring many works whose subjects were fetishized and sexualized parts of female bodies— authored by the all-male line up.

Using Pop approaches of stripping away and paring down to the simplest elements of images, the Slovenian artists used flat monochrome surfaces, reducing the image to schematic representations of their subject. These works were clearly a direct response to similar imagery by Western artists; in particular Allen Jones, Tom Wesselmann and Colin Self, as highlighted by the Slovenian art historian Tanja Mastnak whose doctoral thesis draws explicit

⁴¹⁴ The 'Pop Art Graphics' exhibition is mentioned by Tanja Mastnak in *Koncept Ponavljanja v moderni likovni umetnosti: slovenske refleksije* (*The concept of repetition in modern plastic arts: Slovenian Reflections*), Znanstveni Institut Filozofske Fakultete Ljubljana, 1998, p. 57.

parallels between specific works by Boris Jesih and Allen Jones (amongst others), through detailed comparisons individual works.⁴¹⁵

Painter and graphic artist Boris Jesih's 1970 painting *Figura z modro blazinico* (*Figure with Blue Pillow*) (1970) (Fig. 5) and *Zrcalo z ustnicami* (*Mirror with Lips*) (1971) (Fig. 6) both feature isolated parts of female bodies (a swimmer's torso and a pair of lips applying lipstick seen in a mirror, respectively), depicted in block colour. Jesih's women in these two works are both seductive and self-conscious (checking the lipstick in the mirror). But their eroticism is still closer to the demure and coy aesthetics of the late 1950s, than the much more explicit sexuality of the 1970s.

The protagonist of the *Figure With Blue Pillow* appears to have been directly based on the image of Esther Williams from the 1944 film *Bathing Beauty* (Fig. 7), which was extremely popular in Yugoslavia in previous decades, (as discussed in Chapter 3), highlighting the extent of Hollywood's influence on Yugoslav aesthetics in the 1950s and 1960s. However, in *Samo za Moske* (*For Men Only*) (1971) (Fig. 8), made only one year later, Jesih introduced a new, purely male spectatorial space (as suggested by the title). Here, he paints a different kind of a female subject, at this point fully embracing the Pop fascination with fetish. *For Men Only* features a faceless woman wearing only garters, overlooked by a smiling female face across in the other corner of the canvas. The two could be the same woman – the faceless sex object separated from the woman as a person. A cigarette positioned in the middle of the painting suggests the presence of a, presumably, male patron, who remains an invisible participant enjoying the woman's anonymous and vulnerable nudity.

In the short period of a year, over which these three works were made, Jesih's depiction of women shifts from one to another trope of femininity – to paraphrase Griselda Pollock – from 'femme honnête' (a respectable married woman) to 'fille publique' (the public woman – a prostitute)⁴¹⁶ – exchanging the somewhat romanticised imagery of women from the past (*Figure With Blue*

⁴¹⁵ For further information see Tanja Mastnak, *Koncept ponavljanja v moderni likovni umetnosti: slovenske refleksije* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 1998).

⁴¹⁶ Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p. 75.

Pillow) to the unambiguous representation of women as sexual objects, devoid of any agency.

However, no such negotiation is present in the work of his fellow 'New Figuration' artists Franc Novinc and Janez Bernik, both of whom unequivocally reduced women to their sexual organs. In Bernik's screenprint *Anhovo* (Fig. 9) (the title is the name of a small town in Slovenia), a woman, who appears to be based on a still from a pornographic film, is depicted kneeling, derrière exposed, wearing nothing but stockings, looking back towards the viewer. The woman in Bernik's work is unmistakably a sexual object, and the viewer of the work is unambiguously male.

Similarly, in Franc Novinc's acrylic painting entitled *Razgovor* (*Conversation*) (Fig. 10) the canvas is dominated by a central image of a woman, head thrown back, with her legs open exposing her genitals. The only 'conversation' taking place here is a sexual one and for both Novinc and Bernik the female figure is simply a figure available for sexual pleasure, devoid of any other characteristics.

Such depictions, made for an unsurprising and somewhat derivative response to Western Pop Art (as previously discussed in Chapter 5, comparisons with the work of Allen Jones and Tom Wesselmann, amongst others have been made by art historians, for example Tanja Mastnik) but also echoed the dual nature of Yugoslav liberalisation revealing how the permissive, boundary-shifting liberalism also legitimised sexism and reproduction of demeaning imagery in the public sphere.

9. Negotiating Personal Freedom– Nudity in the Work of Tomislav Gotovac

Jesih, Novinc and Bernik responded somewhat literally to Western Pop works they were encountering, by creating their own versions of imagery of women as commodity. The works discussed above can be contrasted with the Pop experiments by another artist in Yugoslavia who problematised the commodification of the body from a more critical, and playful perspective,

interrogating artistic freedom and agency, beyond gender. I will consider the work of the Zagreb-based film-maker and artist Tomislav Gotovac (1937-2010) in considerable detail as I will argue that, perhaps more than other Yugoslav artist, Gotovac embraced a Pop sensibility across a plurality of outputs that can be likened to the multifaceted practice of Andy Warhol. As the film historian Pavle Levi explained 'As one of the most accomplished experimental filmmakers, conceptualists, and performance/body artists in 1960s and 1970s Yugoslavia [...], Gotovac embodied the impossibility of separating art from life, "high" from "low" culture, and advanced modernist sensibilities from the popular ones.'⁴¹⁷

Tomislav Gotovac's practice spanned film, performance, photography and collage/assemblage. Primarily a film-maker, and always informed by his 'filmic' thinking (the artist famously stated 'as soon as I open my eyes I see a film'),⁴¹⁸ Gotovac began to work in collage and photography in the mid-60s. Involved in Zagreb's *Kinoklub* (amateur cinema club) from 1954, but lacking the equipment to make his own films at the outset (his first short films were made in 1964), Gotovac initially turned to serial photography as another medium with the potential of creating a narrative experience deploying a succession of still images. It is in this context that magazine images of women first made an appearance in Gotovac's work, namely in his second ever artwork, entitled *Showing Elle* (1962) (Fig. 11).

Showing Elle was a proto-performance piece, anticipating key aspects of Gotovac's work to come, such as the use of the artist's own naked (in this case semi-naked) body in the work; serial photography suggesting a filmic narrative, and the beginnings of performance. But *Showing Elle* was made years before the very idea of performance art could have been articulated as such, inspiring the art historian Ješa Denegri to characterise the work as 'a forerunner of the (sic) performance, perhaps a performance manqué only by the name.'⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ Pavle Levi, *Cinema By Other Means*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 141.

⁴¹⁸ Tomislav Gotovac et al, *Tomislav Gotovac (Zagreb: Hrvatski filmski savez. Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2003)*, p.4.

⁴¹⁹ Denegri, Ješa 'The Individual Mythology of Tomislav Gotovac', MSU, Zagreb, 2003, pp.268-276' Ješa Denegri was the first to organise a visual arts exhibition of the work of Tomislav Gotovac, at

Showing Elle consists of eight photographs shot during a daytrip to the mountain of Medvedica (the hill Sljeme), on the outskirts of Zagreb, and is a series of consecutive photographs. At this point Gotovac had just returned from a year of serving his compulsory military service, living in ascetic conditions which no doubt provided the 25 year-old artist with few opportunities to interact with the opposite sex. In *Showing Elle* Gotovac can be seen leafing through a copy of the French magazine *Elle*, laughing, glancing over to his friends, and pointing to pages featuring models in their underwear, with a mischievous grin on his face, as if participating in a private joke. The work is filled with the excitement of a carefree day's outing with friends, and the somewhat illicit sense of looking at images of scantily clad women, which were still taboo in 1962 Yugoslavia. By featuring his own (semi) nudity, Gotovac is testing the ground, knowing that he cannot go as far as to take all his clothes off, but is nevertheless exploring the limits of the new sense of liberation, a sharp contrast to a year spent in the army. Explaining the climate in which the work was made Gotovac referred to 1962 as being on the cusp of liberalisation of the country:

There was a lot of snow and I wanted to strip myself naked and show around *Elle* magazine that one of the girls had brought with her. But there were women in our company, and this was 1962, practically a concentration camp. It was not yet 1963 with that musical Biennial featuring Ann Halprin and Dancers' Workshop Company from San Francisco. Also IVSK with La Mamma and Living Theatre was yet to come. At that time everything was still like...that, if you did something outside your most intimate circle of friends everybody thought you were nuts...⁴²⁰

Gotovac's comment on this particular moment in the country highlights the extent to which Yugoslavia in early 1960s was to become actively involved in the international art scene, but *Showing Elle* only just preceded that shift.

Belgrade's Student Cultural Centre in 1976 and was envisaged as a retrospective, although it was the first ever gallery exhibition by the young artist.

⁴²⁰ Branka Stipančić, 'For Me Reality Is Art: An Interview With Tomislav Gotovac', *M'ArS* 3-4, 1997, 16 – 22.

Showing Elle creates a link between Gotovac's own nudity and the partially naked women in *Elle* magazine. Gotovac is interested in liberation— in nudity as a new frontier of personal freedom, a domain which was previously unacceptable. With Gotovac putting himself in the frame, the 'Elle women' in the work become less objectified, occupying the same space as the now semi-clad author of the work. Unlike the works by Bernik and Jesih, discussed above, which come across as misogynist and objectifying, with the invisible male gazing upon the exposed female flesh, in *Showing Elle* the male viewer is also being gazed upon. The work, in its proto-performance character, sets up a humorous scene focusing more on the magazine itself as the object of desire, than the women in it. The photographic series becomes less about the male gaze upon a scantily clad female, than about an enthusiasm for the *Elle* magazine as an embodiment of a new era of pop culture, with shifting boundaries of acceptability within a fast changing socio-political landscape.

Representation of women in tabloid media continued to occupy the centre-stage in Gotovac's collage works, such as in the series of collages created in 1970 including *Untitled (Girls)* (Fig. 12) and *Bez Naslova (Tako, to smo obavili)* (*Untitled (There, we've done that now)*) (Fig. 13) in which Gotovac created grids collaging sections of newspaper and magazine images combined with typed text and comics.

In *Untitled (Girls)* (1970) the image is divided into twenty-eight squares dominated by faces of young attractive women cut out from newspapers. In most cases the women are looking at the viewer. The origin of the images is unknown, but given the women's uniform youth, grooming (fashionable hair and makeup), poses, and their youthful beauty, it is likely they are actresses or models featured in newspapers. But one image differs from all the other squares and immediately draws the viewer's attention. This image does not feature a woman, but a trifle, a dessert with a cherry on top. This only square of colour in the work is matched by four other differing images, those of fingerprints, with instructional style notes as if gathered from a training manual. The work comments on glamour and visual representation in which the women, regardless of their apparent confidence and enjoyment of the spotlight, are turned into consumer objects and equated with a delicious dessert

ready for consumption. Like the dessert, the women's appeal is timed, short-lived and 'of the moment' in popular culture's instantaneous devouring of anything desirable and attractive.

Unlike the objectified females appearing as images in the work of the aforementioned 'New Figuration' artists in whose work the female body is stripped of any agency and which read as complicit with patriarchal consumption of the female body as an object, in Gotovac's work the artist's own position is critical of such a system. Gotovac's collages simultaneously embrace and subvert popular imagery. By reconfiguring the order of images, the distinction between types of consumer imagery is erased, creating new narratives. In the aforementioned instances Gotovac's critique is focused on the visual language of consumption, using the well known Pop trope of interchanging images of women with food, seen in the works of James Rosenquist (for instance in *I Love You with My Ford* (1961) and Tom Wesselmann (*Great American Nude* series (1961 onwards).

These collages were amongst dozens of works (selected examples Fig. 14.) that the artist made on a daily basis during the 1970s, in a quest to erase divisions between art and life. The 'debris' of daily life – tram and cinema tickets, receipts, chocolate and cigarette packaging, pin-ups, adverts from glossy and erotic magazines, daily postcards sent from Belgrade (Fig. 15) to his girlfriend, and later wife, Zora Cazi, all had the same status in his work– these were elements of a lived existence that were gathered and collaged to produce new meanings. For Gotovac, life and art were a *modus operandi* the artist explained by saying 'in fact, my life (my art) has been made up of two things: one– observation, gathering (of material) and, two– the search for meaning, soul (idea)'.⁴²¹ His bricoleur approach was like the method described by Claude Lévi-Strauss⁴²² as 'making do' with available tools and developing techniques for the creation of artworks within his own system, as opposed to an engineer who creates new systems and structures. This approach in Gotovac's work was indebted to the collage work of Kurt Schwitters (whom the artist cited as an

⁴²¹ Julie Ault and Susan Cahan, 'An Interview with Tomislav Gotovac', *Rhetorical Image Resource Room: A Viewer Participation Project*, (New York NY: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1991), p. 49.

⁴²² Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

inspiration and a catalyst for his own collage and assemblage work, having initially seen two Schwitters' collages in 1959).⁴²³ But equally Gotovac's enthusiasm, and obsessive collecting of pop imagery and paraphernalia (Fig. 16) echoed the pop-cultural ideas of the Independent Group, pioneers of incorporating such material into art. In particular Gotovac's approach is aligned with Eduardo Paolozzi's meticulous archiving and categorisation of high and low culture on the same footing, known as his 'Bunk Collages',⁴²⁴ which he presented for the first time at a meeting of the 'Young Group' (later known as the Independent Group), at London's ICA in 1952.⁴²⁵ The attention that Gotovac paid to the content of the imagery (the text, brands, advertising messages) and their reconfiguration are what makes his work so Pop. In the collages, brands play a central role through repetition as well as repositioning (tin labels are often collaged the 'wrong way round' to reveal the reverse side partially covered in glue).

But to return to the question of female representation – one of Gotovac's favourite themes were pin-ups, a central theme in his scrapbooks and postcards. His diaristic method sometimes resulted in small humorous works (many of his postcards contain juvenile, teenage boy jokes told through speech bubbles with suggestive sexual innuendo), (Fig 17) while other works revealed a distanced critical commentary on consumerism, but always revealing an enormous pleasure found in working with, and rearticulating pop materials. In his sketchbooks, adverts and magazine clippings are arranged alongside dozens of cinema tickets, but the pages are dominated by pin-ups. (Fig. 18). There is no doubt about Gotovac's fetishisation of these images and about his voyeuristic pleasures. The pin-ups are even treated differently to other material and are in most cases incorporated into the books through the use of a special transfer technique which copies the image onto the page (Fig. 18). In some

⁴²³Two of Schwitters' collages from 1946 (*British Made* and *The Young Ernst*) were shown in an exhibition of abstract and surrealist work from the collection of Bertie and Gigi Urvater from Brussels, first shown in Belgrade and then in Zagreb's Moderna Galerija April 1959. Source: Darko Šimičić, Curator of Tomislav Gotovac Institute, Zagreb.

⁴²⁴ Paolozzi created forty-five 'Bunk' collages (named after the word 'bunk' which appears in one of the collages), while living in Paris and London from around 1947 to 1952. The collages combine images of consumer goods, sex symbols and food adverts culled from American magazines. These works, are often considered as prototypical works of Pop art.

⁴²⁵ John-Paul Stonard, 'The "Bunk Collages" of Eduardo Paolozzi', *Burlington Magazine* 150, 1261, 238 – 249.

cases, his enthusiasm for these images was such that Gotovac even inserted entire issues of *Eva i Adam* magazine into the scrapbook.

Despite the voyeuristic pleasures offered on the pages of *Eva and Adam*, Gotovac's use of these images does not feel demeaning, exploitative or misogynistic. Perhaps this is the case because along with the works discussed here, the artist's own nude body became central in his work. Gotovac was, according to his close friend, the Belgrade-based filmmaker Slobodan Sijan, actively involved in a network which regularly viewed, circulated, shot and distributed pornographic images, and where possible films. These activities were involved group of film-makers associated with the Kino-Klub Zagreb, some of whom also worked at Zagreb's Vingoradska hospital (including the ear, nose and throat specialist and filmmaker Mihovil Pansini), along with Gotovac himself (a period around 1962 that he referred to as 'Action Employment'). Gotovac's immersion in what Sijan has described as 'exhibitionist-voyeristic-pornographic escapades', fully fits with Gotovac's stance on nudity as 'rebellion against reactionary visual stupidity' and as 'subcultural resistance against the current state of affairs'.⁴²⁶ For Gotovac then, pornography, voyeurism, exhibitionism, participation in the above network, as well as his sketchbooks, were equal elements in a quest for a liberated society.

In 1971 Gotovac began his series of public *Streaking* performances (Fig. 19), which he first executed in Belgrade and were captured in the film *Plastic Jesus*, which was discussed in the previous chapter. *Streaking* as well as follow up performances *Action 100* (1979), *Laying Naked on the Asphalt and Kissing the Asphalt. Zagreb I Love You* (1981) all consisted of the same ritual – a bearded nude Gotovac would run through the streets, in some cases lying down to kiss the pavement in an apparent appreciation of the freedom afforded by his city. More often than not, these performances would end in Gotovac's arrest, although he never suffered serious legal consequences for his streaking actions. These works, along with his continued engagement with nudity, were more

⁴²⁶ For further details of Gotovac's engagement in pornography via the Kino Klub Zagreb and the hospital on Vinogradska street, where Gotovac worked, see Slobodan Sijan's 'Kino Tom', section 'Kvadrat 33: Pornografija kao dokument kulture' ('Frame 33: Pornography as a Document of Culture'), pp. 130 – 133.

about the freedom of the individual in Yugoslav society than about nude bodies *per se*. Gotovac continuously posed the question of what was taboo in Yugoslav socialism, and why.

A parallel project to *Streaking* was *Tom, A Proposal for a Sexy Mag* (1978) (Fig. 19 a), in which Gotovac more explicitly tackled the difference between male and female nudity. The photographic series involved a selection of nude photographs of himself (taken by Zora Cazi-Gotovac, his wife), mimicking poses usually held by female models. These were proposed as content to a magazine. (They were not accepted by *Start*, another pin-up magazine and were only printed by a different magazine, *Polet* many years later, in 1989). In placing the nude male body centre stage, Gotovac expanded the problematic space of the objectified female body, displacing it with the taboo image of the naked male. As the cultural historian Ana Ofak has claimed:

The depiction of women as readily available visual objects of lust was obvious, but to criticize this is tedious, and it limits us to a purely feminist approach. It is worth noting that being liberal (as well as loud and lewd, some might add) wasn't restricted to the media in Yugoslavia. It was the territory that the whole country claimed for itself, including its art. We may see *Tom, A Proposal for a Sexy Mag* as an echo of this. Or we may follow Leopold and Natter in their understanding of Gotovac's nudes as a parody of the sexes.⁴²⁷

Gotovac's oeuvre pointed to double standards of female and male nudity, and later the erasure and discomfort that accompanies the act of gazing upon the (male) ageing body. For Gotovac nudity was an equalizing force, a tool which allowed him to do away with all artifice, part of the liberalization and democratization of art and life that he sought in all his activities.

⁴²⁷Ana Ofak *Gentleman Next Door: Antonio G. Lauer, a.k.a. Tomislav Gotovac, and the Man Undressed in Times of Socialism*, E-flux Journal #54 - April 2014, <<http://www.e-flux.com/journal/54/59843/gentleman-next-door-antonio-g-lauer-a-k-a-tomislav-gotovac-and-the-man-undressed-in-times-of-socialism/>>, last accessed 10 April 2017. Ofak's reference to Natter and Leopold. can be found in: Leopold, Elisabeth. *Poetry of the Body: The Naked Man in the History of Art*. Pp. 17–25.

10. 'Are you rejecting me because I love prostitutes?' – The First Feminist Work in Yugoslavia: Marko Pogačnik's Emancipated Pin-ups

In 1969 the Slovenian journal *Problemi*,⁴²⁸ a periodical for psychoanalytic theory and philosophy based in Ljubljana, and home to some of the most radical and dissenting voices in Yugoslavia at the time, published a series of artworks in the form of comic strips which dealt with sexual difference through exposing sexism in daily life. The works were authored by Marko Pogačnik, at the time one of the editors of *Problemi* and an active force in turning the magazine into what he perceived to be 'the most free and critically engaged journal of that time'.⁴²⁹ The comic strips by Pogačnik published in *Problemi* that will be discussed here are entitled *Juno* and *Tinza* (both female names) (Fig. 20 and 21), and they are amongst many comic strips that Pogačnik produced and published during 1968 and 1969 in a number of magazines⁴³⁰. These two works stand as clearest examples of his engagement with the problematic of gender in Yugoslavia.

Pogačnik (b. 1944) was one of the founding members of the Slovenian artist group OHO (whose work was mentioned in previous chapters in the context of the group's critique of consumerism) and a young prolific artist whose work was politically engaged, influenced by hippy culture, critical of the Vietnam

⁴²⁸ *Problemi*, in which the works had been published, had been in existence since 1962 and was the magazine of the Society for Theoretical Psychoanalysis, Ljubljana - a precursor of the 'Ljubljana school of psychoanalysis' also known as 'Ljubljana Lacanian School' whose founding members were, amongst others, theorists and philosophers Slavoj Žižek, Mladen Dolar and Rastko Močnik. *Problemi* was one of the few alternative publications in Slovenia in 1960s open to critical voices which at times expressed dissent against the Yugoslav ideology, with a host of diverse contributions ranging from artistic interventions such as Pogačnik's comics, to countercultural voices, philosophical texts, political analyses of Yugoslav socialism and global cultural and political issues.

⁴²⁹ In an email interview I conducted with Pogačnik, he explains the shift in *Problemi* during his time as one of the editors. Pogačnik states that when he first joined the art academy in 1963: 'Problemi was a strictly ideologically controlled magazine of the Socialistic Youth Organization. Next year I became member of the board as representative of the Student Organization. Then I started to work in transforming Problemi to finally in 1969-70 to become the most free and critically engaged journal of that time.' From 'An Interview with Marko Pogačnik', Lina Džuverović, email interview, 18 January 2014.

⁴³⁰ In 1968 and 1969 Marko Pogačnik published numerous comics in a number of Yugoslav magazines. These included *Strip Dana* (*The Daily Comic Strip*) which appeared in *Rok Magazine* (*Rock Magazine*), issue 2, Belgrade 1969; *Svetloba Teme* (*Light of Darkness*) (the text for this comic was written by OHO member Iztok Geister), published in *Problemi* 67- 68, Ljubljana, 1968; *Juno*, published in *Problemi* 78- 79, Ljubljana, 1969; *Kaj Romeo in Julia delata z brosko* (*What Romeo and Juliet are doing with a brooch*) in *Problemi* 80, Ljubljana 1969 and *Tinza*, published in *Problemi* 83- 84, Ljubljana, 1969.

War and growing consumerism as well as of the human irresponsibility towards the environment. Pogačnik, alongside other members of the OHO group,⁴³¹ formed a key part of the Slovenian avant-garde since OHO's inception in 1966.

Marko Pogačnik's comic strips *Juno* and *Tinza* were unusual interventions for Yugoslavia at the time two reasons. Firstly, the fact that they were authored by a male artist who found it necessary to articulate sexism and point to the double standards of Yugoslav society via this particular lens, is unique for this period in the country. Secondly, the comic strips stand out because of their feminist tone, in an environment which had no experience of feminism as a social movement at that point (feminism was seen as a 'Western ideology' and deemed unnecessary in Yugoslavia), lacking methods and ways of thinking necessary for a systematic analysis of the complex constructions of patriarchy. Pogačnik's explicit tackling of sexual difference reads as proto-feminist in a counter-cultural artistic milieu which, although progressive, was not at the time yet actively engaging with the discrepancies between the publicly propagated socialist gender egalitarianism and the realities of patriarchal traditions of the private sphere. Or to paraphrase curator Bojana Pejić in her research for the *Gender Check* exhibition,⁴³² who observed that for art historians, in state socialism the concern with femininity or masculinity was not yet a possibility (or not was not allowed, to which she adds a question mark), thus making it impossible to 'unmask the patriarchal matrix on which representations of femininity or masculinity relied'.⁴³³

Tinza and *Juno* are both black and white comic strips, featuring up to twelve frames on each page. In both *Juno* and *Tinza* the main protagonist is a young

⁴³¹ The OHO Group, a Slovene artistic collective formed in the late 1960s, consisted of Milenko Matanović, David Nez, Marko Pogačnik, and Andraž Šalamun as the permanent, core members. They predominantly worked in Kranj, as well as in Ljubljana between 1965 and 1971. OHO activities ranged from literature, visual poetry and artists' books to film, actions and objects.

⁴³² 'Gender Check' was an exhibition curated by Bojana Pejić, and took place at MUMOK in 2009. The project, which featured over 200 artists from the entire 'former East' was supported by the Erste Stiftung, an Austrian Foundation which owns the Erste Bank as well as the Kontakt Collection based in Vienna.

⁴³³ Pejić, *Gender Check*, p. 16.

woman whose shape Pogačnik traced from the German Neckermann⁴³⁴ mail-order catalogues which his mother 'received by post from some friends from Germany'.⁴³⁵ For Pogačnik, the desire to expose the hypocrisy of Yugoslav society was best articulated through the critique of the double standards with regards to gender relations. Pogačnik explained in an interview: 'The society of the sixties— on both sides of the Iron curtain pretended always to hold to the highest moral standards but in effect this was just an illusion. With different comics I tried to portray this false morality and even show its awkward nature. I was especially interested in the twisted role of women who seemingly were proclaimed as free human beings but in effect were and are to certain degree even nowadays an object in the hands of the masculine ruling class.'⁴³⁶

In *Juno* the female character is depicted as a simplified, generic silhouette, devoid of facial features, wearing a range of different undergarments, which change from one frame to the next— from bra to garters, to a knee-length slip. Retaining the aesthetics of fashion adverts, Pogačnik's line drawings focus on the detail of the garments, whilst the wearer is depicted with minimal detail, desexualized and depersonalized, disappearing into the background in order to better showcase the garments. Texts in *Juno* were authored by the Slovene writer, poet, essayist and ornithologist, Iztok Geister — best known for his avant-garde poetry during the mid-sixties and seventies. Pogačnik himself added Geister's texts in the form of speech bubbles as if spoken by the mannequin, but the events described are delivered the third person. *Juno*—the mannequin— remains passive, and her life is described to us by an external voice. The speech bubbles describe a series of key events in the life of a Yugoslav woman, from her shopping and contraception habits (she shops at the *Nama* department store, she uses Anovlar contraception pills), to her marriage ('Juno Domiduca buys two silver rings at Nama'⁴³⁷; 'Juno Domiduca

⁴³⁴ Another comic based on Neckermann catalogues was also published by an artist in Yugoslavia in the same year. Slavko Matkovic published a series of (at least two) comics in 1969 entitled *Nekerman, Potrosacki Foto Strip (Neckermann, Consumer Comic Book)*.

⁴³⁵ In the interview Pogačnik explains that in Yugoslavia in 1960s it was uncommon to have access to magazines from the West but that his mother received them in the post from friends from Germany. 'An Interview with Marko Pogačnik', Lina Džuverović, email interview, 18 January 2014

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ The full translation of *Juno* reads:

2.1. jun0 domiduca recognizes his husband Jakob by his left hand

3.1. jun0 dopigena gives birth to a no name child between lightning and thunder — a namless child?

recognizes her husband Jakob by his left hand'), and reproductive choices ('Juno Dopigena gives birth to a child with no name between lighting and thunder').

The character 'Juno' is a starkly reduced experience of femininity—pared down to menstruation, reproduction and marriage. Her story is told to us by a deadpan, formal voice (possibly the voice of the Yugoslav state) suggesting that the woman in question simply follows prescribed events. Yet 'Juno' is spoken via a speech bubble— a contradiction that somewhat parallels the position of the alleged equality of Yugoslav women. 'Juno' is formally given a voice yet the words are not her own but read as a ventriloquised voice of authority. For all her inability to speak 'Juno' appears to be the one in charge by all accounts, taking action to shape both her and her husband's lives (it is 'Juno' who buys the wedding rings, she is, of course, the one to give birth, to control her reproductive rights – or at least she is the one purchasing the Anovlar contraception pills) yet her narrative is delivered in an authoritarian voice that is not her own. The faceless character points to the Yugoslav state's treatment of 'the woman' as a political category used as leverage in political posturing, but lacking more genuine in-depth efforts towards emancipation and equality.

By contrast, in the comic *Tinza*, published several months later (December 1969), the main character is depicted in a much more sexualized manner and is addressing the spectator directly and provocatively with her statements as well as her gaze which is, in many of the images, directed straight at the viewer. Whilst 'Juno' comes across as a mannequin, albeit one subverted by Pogačnik to provide a critical response to advertising culture, but still a passive figure, the woman (or women, given that the comic strip depicts many different women traced from magazines) depicted in *Tinza* have fully defined facial features, different hairstyles in each image and are pictured waist-up, naked baring their breasts and returning our gaze. The images in *Tinza*, although

4.1. jun0 cinxia uses contraception pills Anovlar
1.2. jun0 domiduca buys two silver rings at Nama
2.2. jun0 fluonia spills wine wine on her left arm
3.2. jun0 fluonia changes her sanitary napkin between lighting and thunder

simplified, continue to be highly sexualised young women from pin-up magazine pages.

There are three elements in *Tinza*: the images themselves, the 'voice' of the eponymous character, Tinza, represented by the text in the frame, and the text underneath the images, which represents the narrative of the comic. In each frame Tinza seeks to understand rejections she is experiencing by directing questions to a male spectator: 'Are you rejecting me because I love press conferences?' 'Are you rejecting me because I love alcoholics'; 'Are you rejecting me because I love swimming pools';....⁴³⁸

The questions continue, encompassing a range of Tinza's likes which include: prostitutes, secret channels, lesbians, police, homosexuals, call-girls, airplanes, lasers, hotels, the beach, the sea, naked women, generals, guns and many more (forty three in all).

The list, numbering many items which are more readily associated with traditionally masculine rather than feminine sphere of interests and leisure, continues over eleven pages. Pogačnik uses the strategy of reversal to reveal double standards according to which a desirable young woman is judged for the same behaviours which are taken for granted and accepted in their male counterparts. In parallel to Tinza's 'interrogations' which occur within the frame, underneath the frames appears a text, which is entirely different in tone. This is a poetic and metaphysical narrative in which Tinza transcends into another dimension of 'pure brain' where her bodily desires are denied at which point she dies.⁴³⁹ The voice of the 'under-frames' is Pogačnik's own voice,

⁴³⁸ These are selected statements from the full list of forty three statements in the work. Translation by Lina Džuverović.

⁴³⁹ 1) there are 43 concepts On the planet / 2) each living feels love for the 43 concepts / 3) chosen by one's free will / 4) and dew on the planet of 43 planets is strange / 5) in the morning the dew drops raise/ 6) and radially disperse into space. / 7) taking with them everything that is not stuck / 8) during that time the creatures hide / 9) in the vast underground caves / 10) that morning, Tinza / 11 in love with her 43 concepts / 12) forgot about the danger of dew / 13) and stretched out on the surface of the planet / 14) dreaming of the concept / 15) that is seventh in alphabetical order / 16) the moment of rose's assumption / 17) caught her dormant 18) wrapped in dew, she flew for six nights / 19) through the clean space / 20) on the seventh night, with her left hip and right hand/ 21) hit the rough surface / 22) the day lit the contours of the ground / 23) you're a stranger on the Planet of Pure Brains / 24) asked the young man/ 25) who stood near /26) but had until then been covered by night / 27) I am a stranger, but I feel at home / 28) when I look at you, said Tinza / 29) when she established that the anaTomičal structure / 30) of the young man's body matches hers / 31) you are wrong in your

delivering his metaphysical and holistic views which permeate all of OHO's practice. The under-frame is the voice of counter-cultural rejection of Yugoslavia's commercialization, embracing hippy ideas and a utopian perspective counteracting the 'reality' of sexism depicted within the frames themselves.

The works, and their critique of patriarchy, are further complicated by Pogačnik's choice to replicate the image of the female object as possessing an emancipatory female voice. Pogačnik's technique shares its approach with the Letterist concept of '*détournement*' in his use of mainstream media and imagery to subvert their original meaning and messages, via their own means (pin-up images).⁴⁴⁰ Whilst the women in the comic-strips look like models in mail order catalogues, the messages they deliver are aimed at destabilizing the dominant social order and inserting counter-cultural ideas into it, in this instance questioning sexism within Yugoslav 'socialist consumerism'.

11. Pogačnik's Comics as a Conversation with Pop

Marko Pogačnik's saw his comics as being in 'direct conversation' with Pop Art. Having seen the first image of a Pop artwork (a man on a bicycle) in the German tabloid magazine *Bunte* (also received by his mother in the post, like the Neckermann catalogues) in the context of it being 'unacceptable art'⁴⁴¹, the

thoughts / 32) said the young man and directing / 33) the antennas of the listening devices / 34) to the intimate parts of the body / 35) absolute purity of the brain is our strong point / 36) I am not interested in your principles / 37) I am interested in your body, says Tinza / 38) my body is out of reach for you / 39) said the young man, until I perceive in your brain / 40) the whites of my presence only / 41) therefore, proceed towards the central cleaning service / 42) and get rid of these 43 chats / 43) this is my world, said Tinza and died.

Translation from Slovenian to English by Vesna Džuverović.

⁴⁴⁰ *Détournement* is a french term which means rerouting or hijacking. It was a well-known technique used in 1950s by the Letterist International and later adapted by the Situationist International, both radical avant-garde groups which operated across many platforms, using everyday life situations as a trigger for artistic actions and forms of protest.

⁴⁴¹ The full quote from an 'Interview with Marko Pogačnik', Lina Džuverović, email interview, 18 January 2014, about his first exposure to a Pop Art work, reads: 'In an illustrated magazine that my mother received from Germany I first time saw an Pop Art work by an american sculptor, *Man on the Bicycle* published there as an example of unacceptable art. This inspired me to do much of my work in the sixties in interaction with the Pop idea. Till then I was mainly interested in Dada knowing Slovenian Dada magazine from the 20ies called *TANK*, which I found in the library of our college. I

artist felt the need to produce works that would be 'in interaction with the Pop idea'.⁴⁴² The democratic nature and easy dissemination of magazines appealed to Pogačnik as a way of ensuring that the work was accessible to a wider public, beyond galleries, or in Pogačnik's own words, 'as part of the so-called hippy culture we were interested how art works can be distributed in media unusual to artistic production.'⁴⁴³ Hippy culture, within the wider proliferation of counter-culture,⁴⁴⁴ in Yugoslavia had, by 1969, permeated the lifestyle of Yugoslav youth (especially in major urban centres– Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana), manifesting itself in participation in the global anti-war movement as well as critical attitudes to consumerism, alienation and a general questioning of established values. Yugoslav young people shared many cultural influences with their Western counterparts. For instance, the influence of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez led to Yugoslav musicians embracing acoustic sounds in the late 1960s. They were dubbed *akusticari* (the acousticians) as opposed to *elektricari* (the electrics), those who played electronic instruments.

The musical *Hair* which premiered in Belgrade's avant-garde theatre, Atelje 212, under the direction of producer/director Mira Trailovic, in May 1969 (Yugoslavia being the fourth country in the world and the first socialist country to show the musical) featured the closing scene with naked actors on stage to the delight of the musical's American authors James Rado and Gerome Ragni who, in their enthusiasm, joined the cast on stage and later declared that the Belgrade production was 'so beautiful, so spontaneous that we had to go right on the stage to share their enthusiasm' concluding that 'there exist no middle class prejudices here'.⁴⁴⁵ The cast also visited Tito's residence and

didn't have proper information of this kind till 1968 when we started to collaborate with Biljana Tomić, Ješa Denegri and Bora Ćosić from Belgrade. They were well informed.'

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ 'Interview with Marko Pogačnik', Lina Džuverović, email interview, 18 January 2014.

⁴⁴⁴ When speaking of counter-culture here I refer to the definition given by the American academic Theodore Roszak, in his text, 'Youth and the Great Refusal' published in *The Nation* on 25 March 1968, which states: 'The counter culture is the embryonic cultural base of New Left politics, the effort to discover new types of community, new family patterns, new sexual mores, new kinds of livelihood, new aesthetic forms, new personal identities on the far side of power politics, the bourgeois home, and the Protestant work ethic.' Theodore Roszak, *The Making of Counterculture*, (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1969).

⁴⁴⁵ 'Hair Around The World', *Newsweek*, July 7, 1969, <<http://www.orlok.com/hair/holding/articles/HairArticles/Newsweek7-7-69.html>>, last accessed 21 August 2016.

performed a scene of 'Let the Sunshine In' for the Marshall.⁴⁴⁶ Although the gushing enthusiasm for this particular American countercultural import demonstrated a liberal attitude unheard of in other socialist countries at the time, as Branislav Jakovljevic observed, it also contained an element of state-sponsored compulsory enjoyment. Quoting Slavoj Žižek, Jakovljevic observed that there was a sense of a uniform, enforced liberalism, which had little to do with individual choices. 'By the very fact that the Law goes 'mad' and starts to dictate enjoyment comes the turn in which the permitted and tolerated freedom to enjoy is transformed into mandatory enjoyment' wrote Žižek.⁴⁴⁷

Liberal values and a pacifist outlook were right at the core of Marko Pogačnik's thinking. A forerunner of countercultural ideas, Pogačnik drew daily 'anti-war comic strips' against the Vietnam War in a Ljubljana arcade in 1966 as a form of protest⁴⁴⁸ (which are subject of the previously mentioned OHO Super 8 film *The Eve of Destruction*, directed by Naško Križnar), and was known for being one of the first people in Slovenia to dress as a hippy. Although Pogačnik's comics were more explicitly critical than much Pop Art known for its 'flirtation' with the consumer image, the technique of appropriating commercial material, repetition, as well as the possibility of mass distribution, appealed to the artist.

Like so many of his Pop Art counterparts internationally who appropriated the pin-up or the seductive female figure from magazine adverts and comic strips (for instance Roy Lichtenstein's *Girl with Ball* (1961) and *The Refrigerator* (1962); Anthony Donaldson *Strip Board* (1962-3); Tom Wesselman's *Bathtub Nude Number 3* (1963); Pauline Boty *It's a Man's World* (1964-65) to name but a few), in *Tinza* and *Juno* Pogačnik fully embraced the seduction and voyeurism inherent in the selling of consumerist pleasures, articulating his critique in the accompanying text. In writing about Pogačnik's line drawings, the Slovenian historian and critic Tomaž Brejc has pointed to this tension of

⁴⁴⁶ Branislav Jakovljevic in 'Human Resources; June 1968 'Hair' and the Beginning of Yugoslavia's End', *Grey Room*, No. 30 (Winter, 2008), pp. 38-53, p. 49.

⁴⁴⁷ Slavoj Žižek (from Slavoj Žižek, *Birokratija i uživanje* (Belgrade: Radionica SIC, 1984)), quoted by Branislav Jakovljevic in 'Human Resources; June 1968 'Hair' and the Beginning of Yugoslavia's End', *Grey Room*, No. 30 (Winter, 2008), pp. 38-53, p. 49.

⁴⁴⁸ Igor Spanjol and Zdenka Badovinac et al; *Marko Pogačnik - Umetnost življenja - življenje umetnosti* (The art of life - the life of art), (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2012), p. 93.

illicit pleasures present in the works: '[...] Tinza and her acrobatics, and the Neckermann catalogue beauties clad in underwear, asexual because they are made by template drawing and copying. [...] I thought they were sexy then; and are still sexy today.'⁴⁴⁹ As Brejc points out, there was an illicit quality in the work in the way that it simultaneously displayed the sexualized female form, still suggestive and sexy whilst also providing a critique of the very system from which it emerged. Like many Pop artworks, the images remained sexualized, despite their critical intent.

Marko Pogačnik was not the only artist to turn to the complexities of female representation in his work but he was the first to directly tackle sexual difference in such an explicit manner. This body of work emerged during a politicised period in which Pogačnik was actively involved in publishing, while also engaging in street actions, protests as well as performance and film along with other OHO members. At a later date Pogačnik's practice moved in the direction of environmental and systems art, leading to the work he does today which involves 'Earth Healing' (Pogačnik's own term) connected with the Gaia theory.

12. Pop as Licence to Act: Feminist Agency in the Work of Vera Fischer, Katalin Ladik and Sanja Iveković

In terms of possible subject positions available to female artists within the Yugoslav system of the 1960s and 1970s, the newly found visibility and supposed equality left limited pathways for negotiations across domestic and professional life— especially if the chosen profession happened to be that of an artist, a demanding calling still dominated by the trope of the male artistic genius. Public visibility meant that women were spoken into existence, rather than being actively incorporated in the decision-making processes that would enable them to actively influence structural decisions in the country. Returning briefly to Smith's metaphor of the ballgame in which only some players are able to alter the course of events – the poststructuralist feminist position would require for the whole game to be put into question, asking 'Who defines this as

⁴⁴⁹ Tomas Brejc, 'Marko's Lines'; Ibid, p. 105.

the game?’ and ‘Inside which discourse is it constituted?’ One would also need to ask ‘Who is granted an authoritative position within that discourse?’⁴⁵⁰

In order for Yugoslav women to enact change as active and equal members in Yugoslav socialism, it would have been necessary for them not to only be spoken about as a success story of the socialist system, and visualised as central and present— they would have needed an equal input in defining the very parameters of the political foundations of the country. We need to look no further than the aforementioned speech by Vida Tomšič, in which she sought to offer a ‘solution’ to women’s multiple roles across the domestic and public spheres, by proposing to mechanise and speed up domestic chores in order to allow time for grooming – to realise that the fundamental issue of domestic labour was not being tackled. To paraphrase Bronwyn Davies, the ‘forced choices’ available to women provided a limited scope to ‘act differently’ and to empower themselves through their work. Whilst there were no legal impediments standing in the way of the development of female artists’ practices, the underlying systemic inequality and the reliance on women for reproductive and domestic labour made it difficult for female artists to become active agents equal to their male counterparts. Despite the emancipatory work of AFŽ, the situation of Yugoslav women was not, on the level of practical realities of everyday life and work, very different to their counterparts elsewhere. As Marxist feminist scholar Silvia Federici argued in her foundational research into unwaged domestic labour, one can only appreciate the stumbling blocs in the way of women’s emancipation upon the realisation that ‘the reproduction of human beings is the foundation of every economic and political system, and that the immense amount of paid and unpaid domestic work done by women in the home is what keeps the world moving.’⁴⁵¹

Sanja Iveković (1949), Vera Fischer (1925) and Katalin Ladik (1942) had little in common apart from the wider context of growing up and operating as female artists in Yugoslavia. The three artists belong to different generations, with

⁴⁵⁰ Davies, ‘The Concept of Agency: A Feminist Poststructuralist Analysis’, *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 30, 42–53.

⁴⁵¹ Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction and Feminist Struggle* (Oakland CA: PM Press, 2012), p. 2.

Fischer being twenty-four years senior to Iveković, the youngest of the three. Their work developed in markedly different personal circumstances determined by diverse economic and domestic situations, labour conditions, relationship to political events, access to education and travel.

As we will see below, the three artists adopted diverse strategies to develop and assert their artistic voices – from the humour of Vera Fischer's magazine collages to Katalin Ladik's activation of materials associated with domesticity and motherhood in her performance-score collages, and the head-on feminist confrontation of inequality in Sanja Iveković's photomontages. Their multidisciplinary work included sculpture (Fischer), performance (Iveković, Ladik), sound poetry and experimental theatre (Ladik), moving image (Iveković, Ladik) and painting (Fischer). But what unified them, in the context of Pop, was that in the late 1960s and 1970s each of them turned to popular culture, and in particular to tabloid magazines, to find a new language and material of articulation of their positions.

13. The Trouble with Mixing Art and Life: Sanja Iveković's Student Pop Art Experiments

With tabloid magazines now a feature of daily life, they became both a material to physically cut-up and deploy in artworks bringing forth new meanings, and a source of content, be it political events, pop culture and celebrity stories, or advertising. In a countercultural climate brimming with the energy of the 1968 student protests, (as discussed in Chapter 3), in an atmosphere of critical evaluation of various aspects of Yugoslav society, (we are reminded of the 68 protest slogan 'down with the Red Bourgeoisie'), the cheap and easily distributed medium of newspapers and magazines became a dynamic arena for addressing urgent concerns.

Sanja Iveković's first forays into incorporating popular culture into her work, and her engagement with Pop Art began while still a student at the department of Graphics at Zagreb's Academy of Applied Arts. In 1967 / 68 the artist made a number of works directly in response to Andy Warhol's 1964 work *Jackie*.

Working for a newspaper during her studies, Iveković's desire to incorporate current events into her art inspired her to use one of the printing plates found in the office of the newspaper where she was working at the time, as a basis for a series of screen-printing experiments. Warhol's work was by this point well-known to Yugoslav artists both through reproductions in magazines and works shown in exhibitions across the country such as the Philip Morris sponsored exhibition 'Pop Art' in Zagreb and Belgrade, which amongst 33 other screen prints and lithographs, included four screen prints of Warhol's *Jackie* (Fig. 22). Additionally, like other artists of her generation in Zagreb, Iveković regularly attended the GEFF festival (Genre Experimental Film Festival), which in 1967 showed a programme of experimental film curated by P. Adams Sitney, which included Warhol's 1965 film *Harlot*— his first film to feature a drag queen superstar.⁴⁵²

For Iveković, the traditional disciplines taught at the academy were of little interest and she found 'the notion of autonomous art and the modernist paradigm rather alien'⁴⁵³. At the time, Iveković was more interested in the politicized works of the OHO group in Slovenia, and in conceptual art, than she was in the traditional skill-based approaches that were being taught at the academy. 'Being of a politicized generation', she sought to address issues that she deemed important at the time, which is how she came to make a series of screen prints reflecting on news items and current political issues.

Iveković explained in an interview that for her 'that work was on the one hand influenced by Pop Art on a formal level' and on the other, her desire 'to incorporate the everyday into the work'.⁴⁵⁴ Iveković's early screen prints were directly referencing events of the 'Croatian Spring'⁴⁵⁵, a political movement demanding more autonomy for Croatia, which had been suppressed by force in

⁴⁵² Iveković kindly shared the entire programme of the 1967 GEFF festival with me. The programme featured over 60 experimental films. Apart from Warhol's film *Harlot* Zagreb audiences could see films by Jonas Mekas, Marie Menken, George Maciunas, Stan Vanderbeek, Yoko Ono, Paul Sharits, Peter Kubelka, Stan Brakhage and others.

⁴⁵³ From 'An Interview with Sanja Iveković', Lina Džuverović, April 2013.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ The Croatian Spring (Croatian: *Hrvatsko proljeće*, also called *masovni pokret* or *MASPOK*, for 'mass movement') was a political movement from the early 1970s that called for democratic and economic reforms in SFR Yugoslavia and therefore more rights for Croatia within Yugoslavia. In 1971, the Yugoslav authorities suppressed the movement by force.

1972. Interested in the figure of a female politician (one of the first female politicians in the country), Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, whose image accompanied a magazine article, Iveković's used the printing plate to create a number of screen prints in different colours and textures (none of the prints survive, only the printing plate). (Fig. 23)

Iveković also experimented using a found printing plate of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis from a magazine, a project from which only one sheet of prints survives (Fig. 24). This student work which centred on a female Pop icon, was an early indication of Iveković's desire to give agency to female figures, and to assert her own subjectivity, above that of the manipulative media portraying, but rarely giving voices to women.

These screen printing experiments were not well received by Iveković's professors at the Academy, largely it seems for two reasons. At the time, political content or current affairs were not seen as appropriate subject matter for artworks as the Academy still approached art as an insular, discrete sphere of activity unconnected to everyday life. The second issue with the work was that its formal qualities and the technique used were not in line with what was taught on the course. Iveković was told that should she wish to formally use this imagery she also needed to execute the work in the techniques that were being taught at the academy including drawing, engraving and photography, since screen printing was not seen as a legitimate artistic process. In an interview Iveković explained that Pop Art and minimalism were deemed subversive in an environment whose idea of art was lyrical expressionism, abstract expressionism and academic figuration: 'Pop Art or minimal art was something seen as simply non-artistic'.⁴⁵⁶

These early 'Pop experiments' of Iveković's were a gateway into a series of photomontage works which the artist executed throughout the 1970s and which would go on to become the *modus operandi* in her feminist conceptual work. The work foreshadowed the series of works with magazine and newspaper imagery (*Double Life*, *Sweet Life*, *Bitter Life*, *Tragedy Of a Venus* all authored

⁴⁵⁶ From 'An Interview with Sanja Iveković', Lina Džuverović, April 2013.

between 1975 and 1976)– a considered investigation of female subjectivity in Yugoslav society.

From the outset Iveković focussed on destabilising the notion of gender as fixed, pointing to its socially constructed nature by exposing the artifice of image-making and the politics of the gaze. As in her student ‘pop experiments’ Iveković’s works brought in imagery from tabloid media and newspapers in the mid 1970s’ photomontage works, all of which were initially produced and exhibited as books. These included a series of double page spreads combining found photographs (from magazines and newspapers) and her own photographs. Repetition and seriality were central tropes used by Iveković to problematise and destabilise the female gender, in each instance insisting on the need to reaffirm the construction of a gendered body through repeated gestures, movements and situations

Both *Double Life* (1974) (Fig. 25) and *Tragedy of a Venus* (1975) (Fig. 26) featured images selected from the artist’s personal photo albums, juxtaposed with depictions of women from tabloids. In *Double Life* Iveković creates a double image consisting of her own family albums, and glamorous adverts from foreign magazines. In *Tragedy of a Venus*, Iveković’s own photographs are juxtaposed with images of Marilyn Monroe published in the Yugoslav tabloid magazine *Duga*. In this instance, Iveković also retained captions from the tabloid, which provided an intrusive and clumsy journalistic commentary on events in Monroe’s life. Aiming to construct a reading of images through a series of overdramatized mini-narratives, the captions, as is usually the case with tabloid media, are arbitrary, opportunistic, and only tangentially related to the images. Captions included statements such as ‘She chose Di Maggio’, ‘Difficult Childhood’, ‘Sex appeal as her main weapon, much can be achieved with make up’, and ‘Pleasant and unpleasant encounters on the phone: constantly anticipating something’ amongst others. By association, narratives imposed on Monroe seep into Iveković’s own life, shown in corresponding images. The performance of the female gender, for both the artist herself and the models in the adverts, takes place as a succession of temporary, unstable acts by the protagonists, arrested in time by the gaze of camera. Iveković’s double images can be seen to be, as Judith Butler has argued, constructing ‘an

identity instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts*'.⁴⁵⁷ Iveković does not present the images of herself and those from a magazine as being in opposition each other, but as two points on the same continuum of gender construction and performativity, in which Iveković herself, to cite Butler's once again 'compels the body to conform to an historical idea of 'woman''.⁴⁵⁸ Iveković does not see herself as apart, or in any way unaffected by the complexities of the construct that is the category of woman. Rather she points to how embedded the performativity of femininity already is, observing the extent to which her own existing family albums resemble poses and settings of fashion magazines, showing how images travel. Ideas embedded in adverts and paparazzi photos seem to need little local adaptation, working perfectly well in the socialist context. Crucially, unlike works of artists such as Pauline Boty, which responded to media imagery through masquerade, Iveković's own personal photographs often predate the magazine imagery by several years. Iveković's photomontages are not critical of the mediated female body, instead the work complicates the socio-cultural construction of that body as Iveković positions herself as the subject at the receiving end, immersed in the the succession of acts that produce the performance of femininity. For Iveković, advertising images are always already present, involuntarily embedded in her own private negotiation of gender.

14. Consumer Excess in Vera Fischer's Collages

Around the same time that Iveković embarked on her student Pop screen experiments, Vera Fischer— another Zagreb-based artist, by this point an established sculptor, began to explore consumer culture through magazine collage. Fischer graduated from the Zagreb Art academy, the department of sculpture in 1951 where she had been a student of the well-known Croatian sculptor and painter Vanja Radaus, himself a member of the radical leftist artists' group Zemlja (The Earth)⁴⁵⁹ - the first avant-garde artists' group in the

⁴⁵⁷ Judith Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory', *Theatre Journal* 40, 4, December 1988, 519–531.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 522.

⁴⁵⁹ The Group 'Zemlja' (which translates as both Earth and country) was an artists' group which operated between 1929 and 1935 when it was banned by the police.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia which was banned 1935 due to its left-leaning political views. Soon after graduation Fischer abandoned the traditional approach to sculpture as it was taught at the academy and began to experiment with a range of materials and forms incorporating found objects, non-art materials such as metal, rubber and plastic, and magazines which used as source for collage, whilst also turning to painting. Aside from her sculptures, paintings, collages and photography, Fischer also worked as a designer at a ceramics company in Zaječar (Serbia) and displayed her designs for the Zagreb Velesajam (Zagreb Trade Fair) which she developed from 1955 onwards.

While Iveković enthusiastically and unambiguously embraced Pop Art aesthetics and methods, Fischer's works echoed European traditions of assemblage and collage (for instance the works of Kurt Schwitters or Hannah Hoch), even though the imagery itself, being culled from magazines in 1968 had a distinctly 1960s Pop aesthetics.

Fischer's series of collages made between 1968 and 1972, were untypical of her work, which otherwise mostly centered on sculpture. In *Untitled* (1968) (Fig. 27), Fischer's first collage work, densely collaged images from foreign magazines were combined with a small autoportrait sculpted out of clay.⁴⁶⁰ The small clay relief, wearing sunglasses, positioned at the bottom of the frame disrupts the otherwise almost monochrome image (the image is in brown hues) featuring a crowd scene, which recedes into a textured background, making it difficult to see where the crowd stops and texture begins. The image is dominated by three figures of young people—two men and a woman, who are comfortably reclining while intimately leaning on one another, just above Fischer's own image. The trio is reminiscent of the protagonists of Francois Truffaut's 1962 film *Jules and Jim* because of the dynamic and intimacy emanating between the two men and the woman. On closer inspection, the

⁴⁶⁰ Dates of Fischer's magazine collages are not definite. In my interview with art historian Branka Hlevnjak she pointed out that artists in Yugoslavia at this time would often put false dates on their work to make them seem more recent so that they could qualify for the annual exhibition of young artists (the Zagreb Salon) which stipulated that works needed to be made in the year of the exhibition. Artists would present older works as more recent in order to be considered and Hlevnjak believes that Fischer may have dated her first collage work *Untitled* as 1968 even though it might have been made at an earlier date.

crowd in Fischer's collage appears to be a group of young people who seem deeply engrossed in a public rally, or a lecture, raising their arms wishing to respond to what is being said, with one even propping his ear, as if in an attempt to hear better. Perhaps Fischer's crowd are students at a lecture, or at a political gathering— a likely situation given the date of the collage— 1968— the year that saw student protests unfold in Yugoslavia, just like in the rest of Europe. Fischer's own image appears disconnected from these events, her dark glasses and the difference in scale of the clay head making her appear out of place, not fitting in with the 1968 generation's confrontational attitude, as if inserted into a narrative she does not fully belong in. Fischer is looking out from the same perspective as the protagonists of the image, but she is in a different dimension, confronting the viewer from another point of view. In this, Fischer's first foray into pop imagery, the artist appears simultaneously intrigued by and disconnected from this new wave of countercultural activity—the mass gatherings and the politicized generation of 1968.

In another collage entitled *Pasiji Život (A Dog's Life)* (1968–1972) (Fig. 28) Fischer continued with her portrayal of crowds collaged from glossy foreign magazines, but unlike *Untitled* (1968) which pointed to the countercultural moment of 1968, from a distance, *Pasiji Život* humourously embraced and reorganised the promise of consumer bliss, in a lighthearted mocking of consumer seduction. Unlike, for instance, the political magazine and newspaper collages of Martha Rosler, who in the same period, in the US, produced sharply critical works juxtaposing consumer-driven culture and its deliberate blindness to violence and war (*House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home*, 1967-72), commenting on America's 'bread and circuses' politics, Fischer's collages were more neutral, offering no such juxtapositions. Instead, Fischer reorders elements belonging to the same sphere – that of consumer desire and satisfaction – creating the effect of saturation. In *Pasiji Život* no surface is left blank— the canvas is filled with smiling attractive protagonists enjoying a variety of consumer pleasures. *Pasiji Život* features all the tropes of the consumerist dream: the happy heterosexual nuclear family with a small child, a glamorous model made up to look like Audrey Hepburn smoking a cigarette, a pair of young women dancing, wearing patterned trouser-suits, the ubiquitous underwear model in a bra, a group of men who look like they are in

a band, a glimpse of a shiny blue car, a horse, circus performers, ladies in opulent flowery hats and gowns. The scene is so saturated that it begins to feel like a mockery of itself – consumer overload. This is consumerism taken to the extreme until it becomes circus-like.

As in her first collage, in which the relief head of the artist destabilized our immersion in the image, in *Pasiji Život*, Fischer inserts incongruous elements as a distancing tool, eliminating any possibility of the image being a simple celebration of consumer pleasures. The lower right-hand corner features an image of an owl monkey and an anthropomorphic image of an electrical razor, appearing to be a ‘twin’ image of the owl monkey with its two circular blades stare back at us just like the monkey’s large brown eyes. Fischer symbolically inserts herself into the image by cutting up the letters ‘Vera’ and pasting them on top the razor. It is as if Fischer (the razor) and the monkey are both ill-fitting creatures, not belonging in this scene. Their size and colourway stand out from the rest of the image. Bewildered by what is going on around them, the two ‘outsiders’ seem to be putting into question the joyful ‘circus’ that is unfolding around them. Although present, Fischer remains the outsider in all of her collages, never becoming a part of the crowd she repeatedly depicts.

Unlike Iveković whose Pop screenprints directly referenced a particular Pop work – Warhol’s *Jackie*, Fischer’s collages are ambivalent in their tone in what appears to be an ambivalent personal position vis-à-vis the consumer society.

The trope of the crowd in Pop was problematised by Jessica Morgan’s writing on ‘global pop’ in 2015. Morgan claimed that ‘global pop artists brought the crowd crashing back into the living room, bursting from the contained safety of the television screen and disrupting the hygienic atmosphere of the singular figure or discreet shopper’.⁴⁶¹ Examining the tension between what she called Pop’s fascination with ‘hyper-individualism under capitalism’ and representations of crowds, she proposed that globally, Pop opened up spaces for representation and articulation of both ‘the hidden populace that made possible the consumer society being sold through an apparently subjective,

⁴⁶¹ *The World Goes Pop*, p. 17.

individual appeal, and on the other, an assembled, and on occasions underground political opposition to the status quo'.⁴⁶² Fischer, an individualist, and an artist whose entire oeuvre remained marginalised from the dominant tendencies of the time, was precisely negotiating these tensions in her collage work.

Fischer, as it later transpired, was an artist whose visual language was to take many directions, but always remain outside of any collective or group tendencies, making the works in which she represented big gatherings and crowds of people read like a resistance against the erasure of individualism implicit in these images.

15. In Search of Authenticity: Katalin Ladik's Performance Scores

A similar ambivalence towards consumerism characterised the work of the multidisciplinary artist and poet Katalin Ladik (b 1942, Novi Sad). Here I focus in particular on Ladik's collages, most of which also served as visual scores for performance— a body of work created in the period between 1971 and 1979.

Ladik's collages can be read as proto-feminist Pop but cannot be read in isolation from the rest of her oeuvre, which encompassed performance, sound poetry, film and theatre and it is thus important to first understand the full scope of Ladik's activity.

While both Vera Fischer and Sanja Iveković grew up in Zagreb (albeit in different social circumstances from each other) and belong to different generations, Ladik grew up in Novi Sad, the capital of the Serbian province of Vojvodina, in the midst of wartime poverty, a child of day-labourers who struggled to make ends meet.

The bilingual (Serbo-Croat and Hungarian) Ladik took part in children's radio plays and was well-versed in the use of sound as a medium when she began making sound poetry and collage as visual scores in her early 20s. Much like

⁴⁶² Ibid, p 21.

Tomislav Gotovac and Vera Fischer, Ladik's approach was that of a bricoleur, collating and repurposing material from the domestic sphere – dressmaking patterns, magazine adverts, Letraset, her child's school materials – for use in collage and performance.

The material in Ladik's collages was of genuine, practical use to her– be it dressmaking patterns from magazines that the artist used to make clothes for her young son⁴⁶³, or the collage paper he used for his school assignments. For instance, the work *Laž Papir* (1973) (Fig. 29) which featured the Yugoslav flag with an overlay of the word '*laž*' meaning 'a lie', was cut out from a fragment of the cover of Ladik's son's collage paper book for school. The word *kolaz*, meaning collage, was the complete word found on the cover of the block of paper, but Ladik split it in two to spell out the word 'laz') Although elements of humour and cynicism were present in the work, Ladik's was not a detached position, but a genuine drive of a bricoleur to create work from the debris of life itself. Ladik spoke of her deliberate decision to bring everyday life into her work: 'By then I was already a rebellious woman, and I had been humiliated precisely on the grounds of being a woman, so I thought...I deliberately started to make work from my own world. I started sewing ...all of these things I used, I had all these things –the sheers, I'd completed a pattern-cutting course, so that I could sew for myself, because it was necessary [to make clothes], both for myself and for my child.'⁴⁶⁴

In *Eil- Nitt* (1976), (Fig. 30) for instance, a section of a dressmaking pattern from a magazine is placed on music paper and combined with cut out letters. The collage serves as a visual score for performance, doubling up as an object in a gallery and a score for performance at events. By juxtaposing the 'tools' of her domestic life with the realm of her public self, Ladik is not only pointing to the tension in the experience of Yugoslav women, but also highlighting the question of class and social standing by collapsing the distinction between high art and vernacular traditions. This tension created through the juxtaposition of dressmaking patterns – suggesting the need to make one's own clothes– with

⁴⁶³ In an interview conducted in November 2013, Ladik explained how at the time children's clothes were not available at affordable prices in Yugoslavia and that most people made clothes for their children.

⁴⁶⁴ Lina Džuverović, 'An interview with Katalin Ladik', 30 November 2013, Budapest, Hungary.

the association of trained musicianship reads as a clash of two worlds. It would be unlikely for a woman to be engaged in both activities (although crochet, embroidery and knitting held a different status and were associated with leisure activities which can all be done while entertaining guests, while sewing is not). In Yugoslavia, however, the socialist rhetoric would claim that such distinctions were long gone, only to be replaced by the unspoken rules governing women's social positions. Social class was not to be spoken of in Yugoslavia's classless society (according to its political rhetoric, if not reality) but, as Ladik's work reminds us, women's roles still continued to be shaped by much of the previous regime's traditions, even if this was not to be publicly articulated.

Ladik's visual scores, in their activation through performance, act as a statement inviting the questioning of those paradoxes, also clearly articulating the artist's own will to subvert the assumed female roles. Ladik's scores problematised both class and gender difference. Despite Yugoslavia's egalitarian rhetoric, the space of public performance remained highly gendered, populated by male authors and female entertainers. While women could frequently be seen performing (as we saw earlier in this chapter, pop culture brought about a host of female pop singers, dancers and entertainers), the only way a 'good comradess' could be respected for being in the public eye was through her participation in group public ceremonies such as Tito's birthday, The Day of Youth, performing traditional folk songs that celebrated the Yugoslav state and the beauty of the country, celebrating the leader or remembering the anti-fascist battle. Female performative roles were associated with the realm of folk culture, with the performer embodying the collective voice by carrying forward traditional folk material. Performance and authorship were entirely separate.

Ladik's entire life was poured into her collages. Whilst for instance Vera Fischer's collages as well as her paintings illustrated and commented on the changes taking place in Yugoslavia at the time, giving a sense of visual culture affecting the experience of being female in the Yugoslav environment of 1960s and 1970s, Fischer retained a distance from her subject matter. Her collages were not spoken from a personal perspective, and told little about the artist's

own life circumstances. Katalin Ladik's collages and visual scores, by contrast, actively incorporated the incongruities and difficulties of her own daily life in the work itself, collapsing the distance between the private life of a woman, wife, mother, homemaker (*fille honnête*) and the public life of the (often nude) performer (*fille publique*). Ladik's work embodied the dual burden of being active in the workforce in an allegedly equal society, and the weight of responsibility for domestic and family life, that Yugoslav women faced. The agency in Ladik's work is located in the act of repurposing and activating the very elements that constrained her (domestic work, sewing) into an active, outspoken, performative artwork, using all the means at hand to articulate her experience. The use of disposable everyday objects (Ladik often used household objects, underwear or food as props in performance,— emulating shaving, cooking, dressing and undressing, wearing underwear over street clothes etc), the voice, and the often naked, or semi-naked body, were all means of speaking back, a subversive act of empowerment. Ladik effects a strategy of 'détournement',⁴⁶⁵ the repurposing of the visual language and tools aimed at reinforcing women's traditional roles (sewing patterns, food, sewing machines, undergarments, make up) with the aim of reconfiguring them to formulate her own critique of the constraints of patriarchy.

Ladik was especially interested in incorporating folk traditions into her work. Having spent her early years involved in research into oral folk song traditions (Ladik worked on this research in the 1960s together with her first husband who was an ethnomusicologist). She explained her interest in folk as a search of authenticity: 'The reason I used folk elements [...] was that I wanted to become authentic. I did not want to imitate the Beatniks or to fight against consumerism, when in fact we couldn't wait to have the opportunity to consume. Aluminium, plastic foil, wrapping up, nylon, we would wash the nylon three or five times to be able to reuse it [in performance]. I was certainly not going to fight against it [consumer culture].'⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ The term 'détournement', the French term meaning 'rerouting, hijacking' was a technique of using media culture and the language of advertising and subverting it for use against its original intent. Détournement was initially developed by the Letterist International in the 1950s, and later also adapted by the Situationists.

⁴⁶⁶ Lina Džuverović, 'An interview with Katalin Ladik', 30 November 2013, Budapest, Hungary.

The relationship between the individual and the Yugoslav system is addressed in Ladik's action *Identification*' (1975) (Fig. 32) made while on a trip to Vienna in 1975. The artist stands behind a large Yugoslav flag hung at the entrance of the Vienna Art Academy. Face obscured by the flag, the body becomes primarily a Yugoslav collective body, the individual becoming arbitrary. Rebelliously responding to both sexism that she was experiencing in her life and the 'dull male performances'⁴⁶⁷ she continuously encountered in her milieu of experimental theatre and sound, Ladik's methods included the use of the body, clothing and the voice, bringing in the domestic and the maternal into the space of performance. She shared these strategies with the approach taken by female avant-garde practitioners across the US and the UK, for instance Alison Knowles' use of cooking, children and cosmetics in performance—something of which Ladik was unaware at the time but later realized (as her interest never lay in looking elsewhere).⁴⁶⁸

In Ladik's performances of collaged dressmaking patterns (and her later performances using a sewing machine), we can trace parallels of Annabel Nicholson's 1973 structuralist proto-performance work *Reel time* held at the London Film-Makers' Co-op, consisting of the artist running a looped filmstrip through a domestic Singer sewing machine (a domestic, female tool) and projecting it on a loop (the projector – the tool of public performance equipment usually operated by a male technician). Even though her approach was close to experimental practices that were emerging across Europe and the US, Ladik's interest lay in drawing from the specificity of the Yugoslav experience and turning to folk tradition in her search of authenticity. In response to her relationship to popular culture, commerce and the Westernisation of Yugoslav society, Ladik explained: 'I decided to work from the world that I lived in, from my world. What did I need the Beatniks for? What did I need rock for? This was pop for me— this was my world. And I added some cynicism and perhaps some humour. This was my New York. By then I understood, that they [American artists] had their problems, I had mine. But if I were to do it with the same temperament, if I rebel just like they

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. In the interview Ladik spoke of the 'dull performances' by the male artists she was working with.

⁴⁶⁸ In the early to mid-sixties Knowles creates a series of performances based around the use of hair, cosmetics, cooking, clothing, the participation of children etc.

[Americans] rebelled against their circumstances, I rebelled against mine. I was not going to rebel against consumer society when I was poor.’⁴⁶⁹

16. The Emergence of Feminist Voices

This chapter has sought to provide a context in which women’s artistic practices in Yugoslavia developed by examining the intersection of female emancipation and the proliferation of pop culture. Broadly, the chapter has followed a shifting trajectory from women as seemingly passive, depicted, objectified and spoken about, in public space and certain Pop artworks, to women artists acquiring their own voices, expressing their subjectivities and gradually claiming the social and political space from which they had been all but erased.

Along this trajectory, Vera Fischer and Katalin Ladik both stand as examples of female artists who, although not entirely isolated (as there were many other women operating in Yugoslavia at the time), were in the minority in their keen incorporation of the tools of popular culture as a new avenue in their work. Both chose to actively address the female experience in Yugoslavia and, in the case of Ladik, to directly respond to instances of gender-based discrimination.

Of course, the trajectory of the making of such works is not a linear one – other Yugoslav female artists addressed gender difference in individual works, such as the Belgrade-based painter Olja Ivanjicki in her 1964 newspaper collage *Dressmaking Patterns and People* (Fig. 34) in which she juxtaposed representations of masculinity and femininity. But Iveković, Ladik and Fischer can be thought of as perhaps the only female artists of the period of 1960s and 1970s whose work consistently and over a long period of time embraced and deployed popular culture, seeking to create a critical space in which to respond to sexism and inequality.

While Fischer’s collage works would be difficult to read as explicitly feminist, as the artist articulated her own position vis-à-vis her environment without at

⁴⁶⁹ Lina Džuverović, 'An interview with Katalin Ladik', 30 November 2013, Budapest, Hungary.

any point directly addressing gender difference, I have read Ladik's work as consciously feminist, as her body of work is imbued with the need to disrupt the status quo and subvert existing structures by pointing to issues which specifically mark women's work and lived experience. While Ladik did not explicitly refer to gender difference in the work in 1970s,⁴⁷⁰ her choice of materials, such as dressmaking patterns, fabrics, her play with nudity in her performance, and the way she treated such imagery, clearly points to a negotiation of her own subjectivity in relation to her gender. For Ladik her own nude body is just another element in performance, but the play between seduction and repulsion indicates a perhaps as yet unarticulated desire to problematize gender difference – something the artist went on to do in the latter part of her career, from the late 1970s to the present day.

But it is only the work of Sanja Iveković that can from the outset be read as explicitly feminist. Whilst both Vera Fischer and Katalin Ladik's collage works dealt implicitly with their own positions and experiences, Sanja Iveković is the first female artist in Yugoslavia to position her work as an enquiry into the gendered nature of her social context, placing the emphasis on structural inequality, reaching beyond her personal experience, pointing to the media's assault on women and the absence of women's voices in the public sphere.

The manifestations of Iveković's feminist agency could be attributed to the fact that she came of age in a time when questions around gender difference were beginning to be more present, even if not yet articulated as feminist in Yugoslavia at the time. Iveković's immersion in the critical environment of the 'New Art Practice' networks around the Student Cultural Centre in Zagreb (and across Yugoslavia), as well as her close connection with the members of the emerging feminist movement, including the women who organized 'Woman and Society' lectures in Zagreb, following the *Drug-ca Zena*

⁴⁷⁰ Over time Katalin Ladik's work took on a more explicitly gendered tone. In her late 1970s and 1980s performances, such as *Blackshave Poem I*, 1978, held in Zagreb, Ladik performs a striptease, followed by the motions of shaving her armpits, while dressed in black trousers and a turtleneck jumper, worn under a pair of lace underpants and a bra. This line of performance continues into the 1990s, through a series of performative pieces in which the artist gradually undresses on stage, often mixing pseudo-seduction with grotesque ways of disfiguring her own body, seeking to make it repulsive.

conference (Sanja Iveković's cousin Rada Iveković, only four years senior to the artist, is a renowned Yugoslav Indologist, scholar, writer and feminist, currently based in France, but at the time living and studying in Zagreb). These links may all have had a significant effect on the artist's declarative feminist position from the outset.

So, was Pop a catalyst for feminist agency in Yugoslavia, and can Fischer, Ladik and Iveković be viewed as Pop Artists?

Returning to the original question posed in the introductory chapter, which interrogates the methods of inclusion in the rethinking of Pop Art, I have argued here that at a certain moment in the early 1970s, in their multifaceted, and multidisciplinary oeuvres, each of these three artists turned to Pop precisely for its enabling and liberating possibilities, as it catalysed new ways of working, freeing them from existing conventions and structures. They were, therefore, in that period, amongst many other adjectives (proto-feminist, video, performance etc), also Pop artists. Pop's accessibility, in the case of these three artists, was indeed a catalyst for a new, previously unavailable *modus operandi*, breaking down the exclusivity of a professionalized studio practice and associated networks, often inaccessible to female artists, to begin to create other, less patriarchally-structured ways of working.

17. Chapter 7 Illustrations





Figure 1.

Images of Work Actions presenting women and men engaged in the same form of physical labour.



Факс хелизим
је првенствено
захваљујући својим
ензимима, који
ефикасно
убијају прљавштину
и остављају
ваше одјеће
чисто и свјежо.

Задовољство на вашем лицу говори о вредности Факс хелизима.
МИРИСНА ЧИСТОЋА, БЕЛИНА
РУБЉА - Факс хелизим!

САПЕНИЈА ОСИЈЕК



оне су одабале
МАКСИМАЛНИ ДЕТЕРЏЕНТ



Dva enzima
Crai
BIK
maksimalni detergent

Dva enzima
Crai
BIK
maksimalni detergent



Figure 2.

Three washing powder adverts from *Ilustrovana Politika* magazine (*Illustrated Politics*), (1970).



Figure 3.

Examples of covers of the tabloid magazine *Čik*, (1971).



Figure 4.

Examples of covers of the tabloid magazine *Čik*, (1971).
The title under the image reads 'contest for the best legs'.



Figure 5.

Boris Jesih, *Figura z modro blazinico* (*Figure with blue pillow*) (1970).



Figure 6.

Boris Jesih, *Zrcalo z ustnicami* (*Mirror with Lips*) (1971).



Figure 7.

A still from the film *Bathing Beauty* (1944).



Figure 8

Boris Jesih, *Samo Za Moske (For Men Only)* (1971), Oil on canvas

(Black and White reproduction)

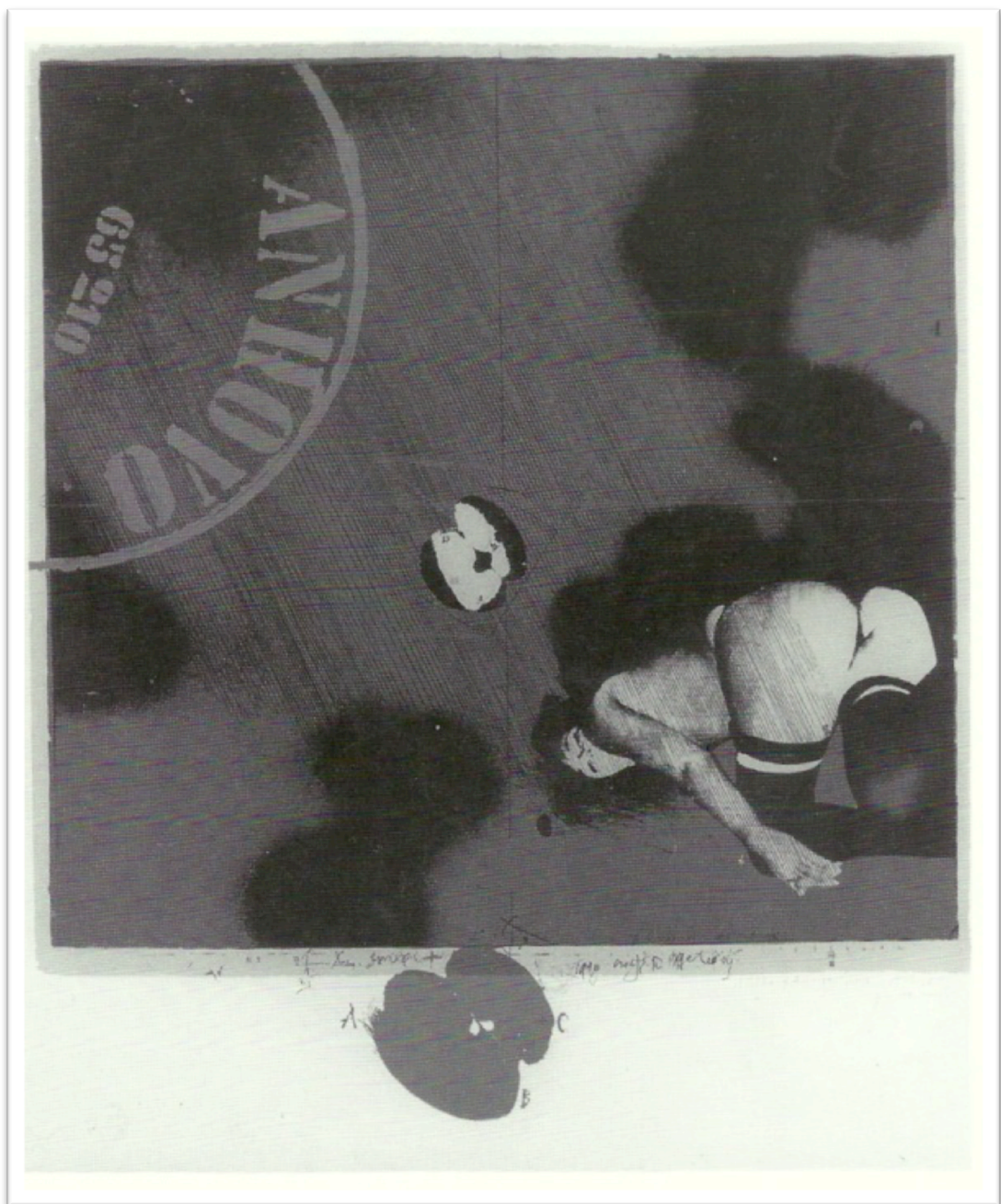


Figure 9.

Janez Bernik, *Anhovo (Anhovo)* (1971), Screen print



Figure 10.

Franc Novinc, *Razgovor (Conversation)* (1970), acrylic on paper.

(Black and white reproduction)



Figure 11.

Tomislav Gotovac, *Showing Elle* (1962).



Figure 12.

Tomislav Gotovac, *Untitled (Girls)* (1970).



Figure 13.

Bez Naslova, *Tako* (, to smo obavili), (Untitled (There, we've done that now)) (1970).





Figure 14.

Tomislav Gotovac, Collages:

Top: *Pepsi Cola–Moj jazz (Pepsi Cola – My Jazz)*
(1964), print photographs, newspaper, razorblades, glue.
65 x 72 cm

Middle: *Untitled (Blok)*, (1964),
Paper bags, drawing notepad, cigarette box, wrappers, stickers
60,5 x 60,5 cm

Bottom: *Bez naslova (BP)*
(1964),
printed photographs, print on metal, nylon stockings, newspaper / sandpaper,
58 x 58 cm



Figure 15.

Postcards sent daily from Tomislav Gotovac in Belgrade, while studying at the film academy, to his girlfriend at the time, Zora Cazi, (Early 1970s).

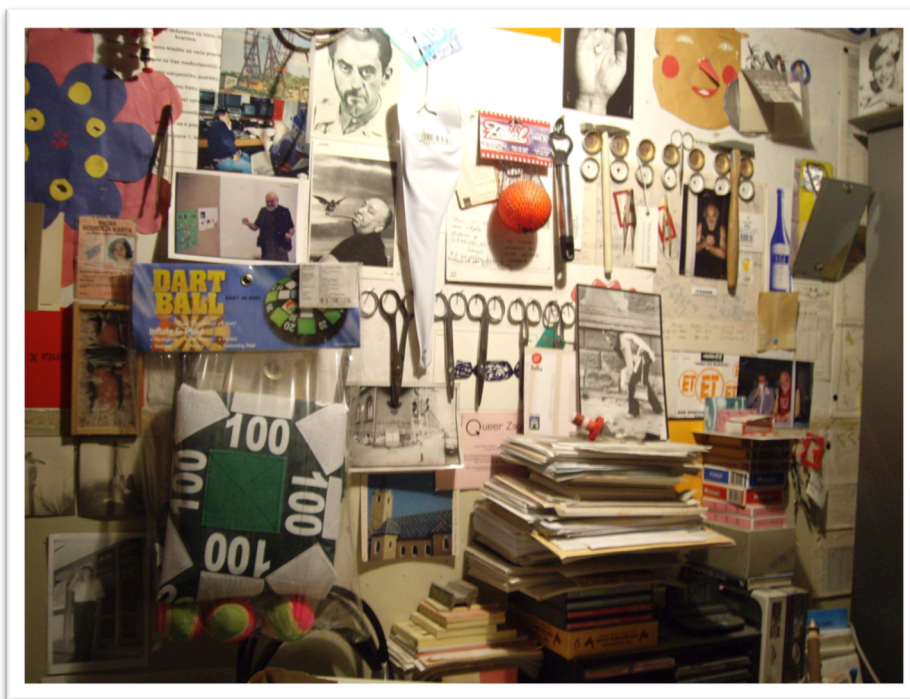


Figure 16.

Top: A wall in one of the rooms at the Gotovac Institute, showing objects collected by Tomislav Gotovac. Bottom; Zora Cazi-Gotovac in one of the rooms at the Gotovac Institute, Zagreb



Figure 17.

Tomislav Gotovac, *Modified Postcards* (1970),





Figure 18.

Tomislav Gotovac (1970), Sketchbooks

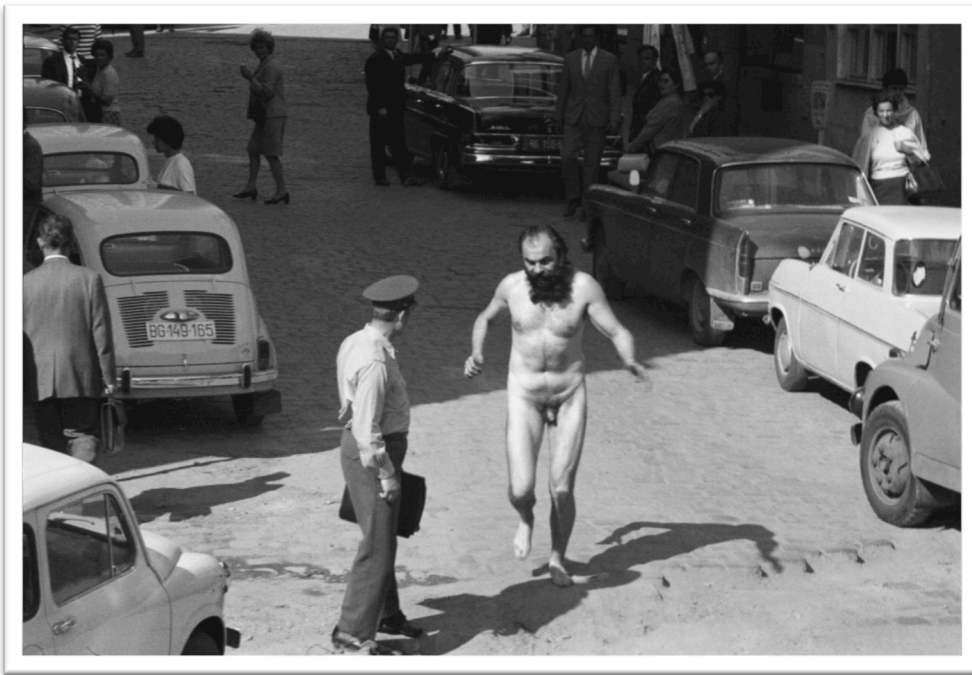


Figure 19.

Tomislav Gotovac, *Streaking* (1971)



Figure 19a

Tomislav Gotovac, *Tom, A Proposal for a Sexy Mag*, (1978)
Photo: Zora Cazi-Gotovac.

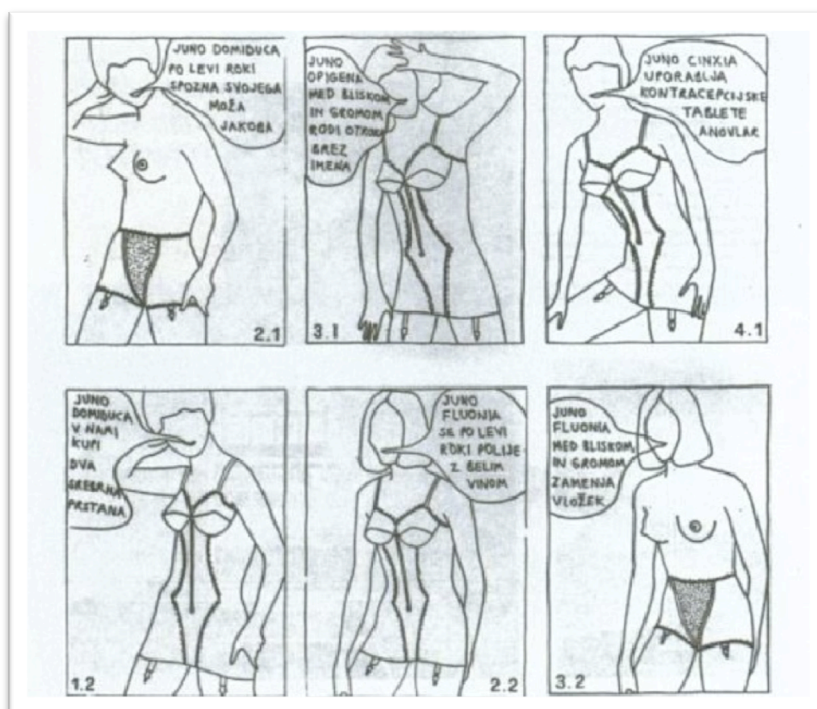


Figure 20.

Top: Cover of *Problemi* magazine, Issue 78/79, (1969).

Bottom: A sample page of Marko Pogačnik's *Juno* (with text by Iztok Geister)

Problemi 78- 79, Ljubljana, (1969), p. 30.



Figure 21.

A sample page of Marko Pogačnik, *Tinza*, *Problemi* 83/84, November/December, 1969.



Figure 22.

A page from the catalogue 'Pop Art' showing screen prints by Andy Warhol which were included at the 'Pop Art' exhibition in Zagreb's Gallery of Contemporary Art (Zagreb, 8 — 22. 3. 1966), in association with Belgrade's Museum of Contemporary Art.



Figure 23.

Sanja Iveković, Screen printing plate used for series of prints (1967/68), courtesy of the artist.



Figure 24.

Sanja Iveković, Screen prints (1967/68).

The only remaining example of screen printing experiments with magazine imagery, courtesy of the artist.



Figure 25.

Sanja Iveković, *Double Life* (1975).

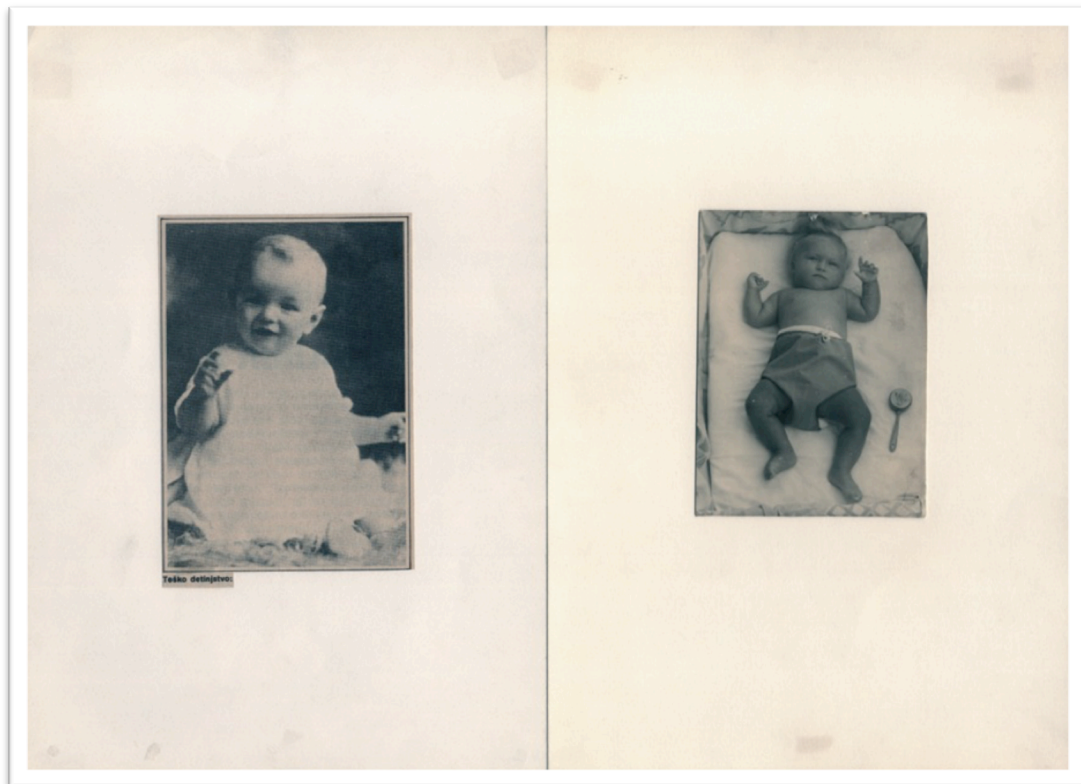


Figure 26.

Sanja Iveković, *Tragedy Of A Venus* (1975).



Figure 27.

Vera Fischer, *Untitled* (1968).



Figure 28.

Vera Fischer, *Pasiji Život (A Dog's Life)* (1968-1972).



Figure 29.

Katalin Ladik, *Laž Papir*(*Lie Paper*) (1975), Collage on paper.

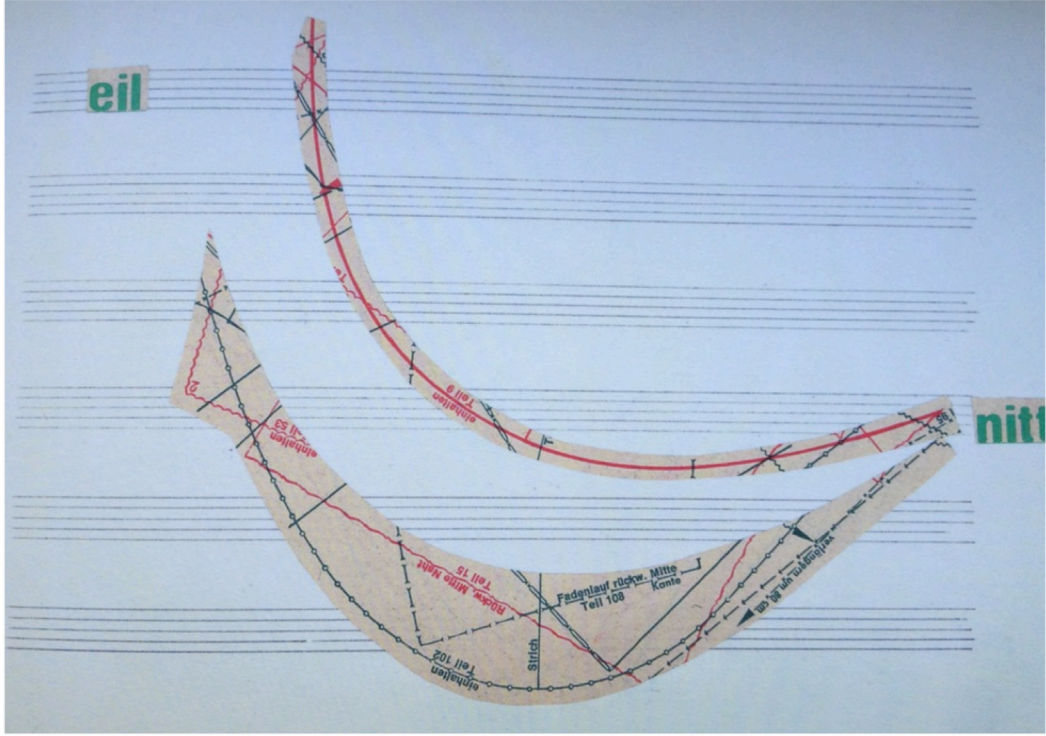


Figure 30.

Katalin Ladik, *Eil Nitt* (1976), collage on music sheet paper.

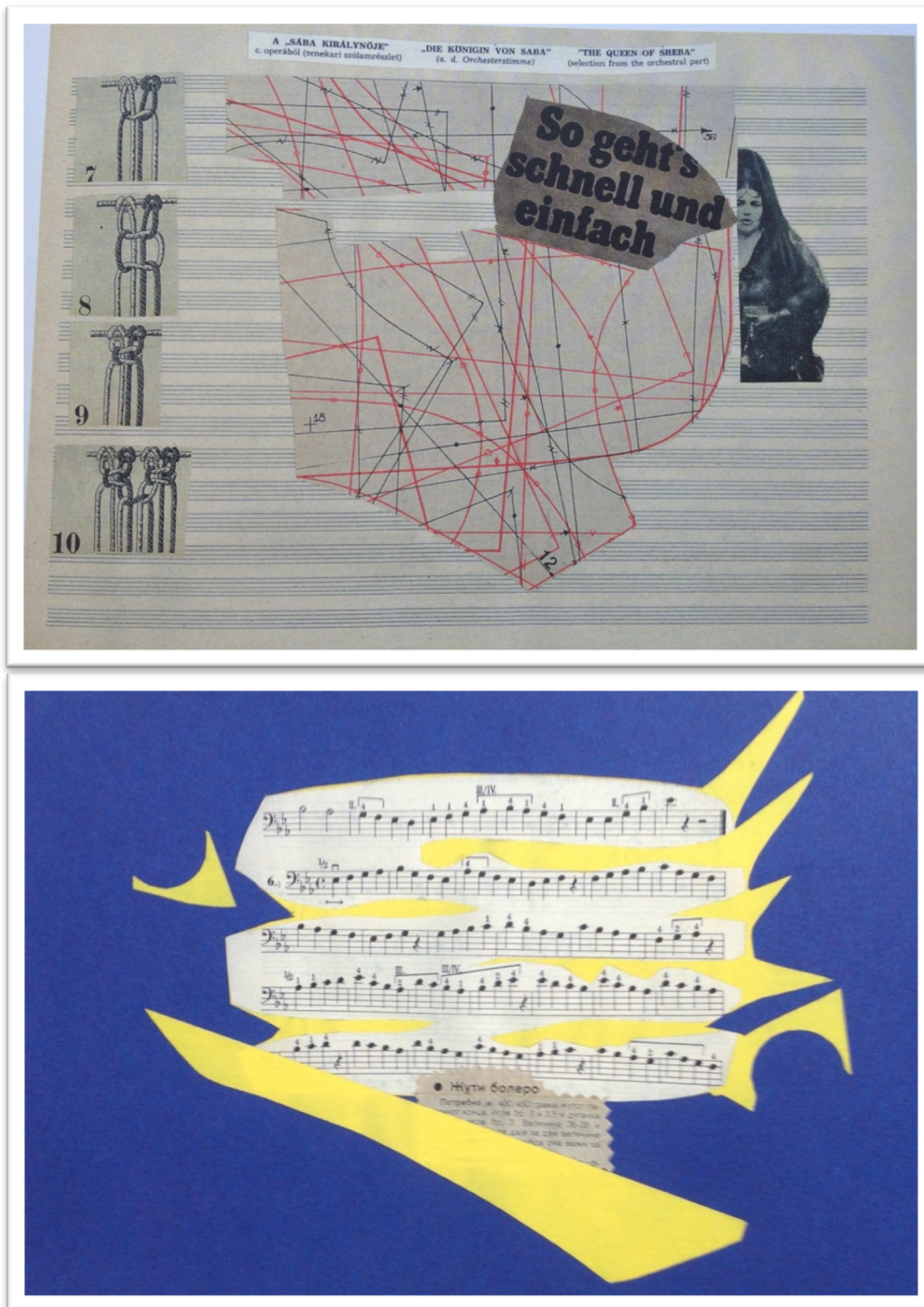


Figure 31.

Top: Katalin Ladik, *Kraljica od Sebe (Queen of Sheba)* (1973), collage on paper. Bottom: Katalin Ladik, *Zuti Bolero (The Yellow Bolero)* (1978), collage on paper.



Figure 32.

Katalin Ladik, *Identification, action* (1975), Akademie der Bildenen Kunste, Vienna.



Figure 33.

Katalin Ladik, *Shaman Poem* performance at GEFF in Zagreb (1970).



Figure 34.

Olja Ivanjicki, *Snitovi i Ljudi (Dressmaking Patterns and People)* (1964).

Conclusion

In the five years since the beginning of this research project, significant changes have taken place in the way in which Pop Art histories are being told. New local and specific Pop investigations include the activities of curators claiming the work of individual artists as Pop for the first time, such as for instance the exhibition 'Corita Kent and the Language of Pop' (Harvard Art Gallery, 2015/16), and recent regional revisitings of Pop, such as that found in the exhibition 'Slovenia and Non-Aligned Pop' (Maribor Art Gallery, 2016/17). These initiatives are not simply a ripple effect of 'global' or 'international' Pop exhibitions discussed in the opening chapter, but signs of deeper curatorial shifts towards inclusivity and the construction of pluralism of Pop narratives.

Such projects are symptomatic of a much broader paradigm shift emerging from changes in information flows, and, in some cases, intersectional curatorial approaches, mindful of an urgent need for correctives to multiple forms of exclusion (on the basis of gender, race, sexuality and class) endemic in canonical narratives. Ways in which curatorial and research activity today operates across physical exhibition spaces and the network (for instance the availability and sharing of online archives, footage and artists films on Youtube, research being shared on institutional websites, etc.) has meant that research and discourse have become as accessible, if not more so, as exhibitions or events, allowing for the circulation of a multitude of positions in ways that are less hierarchical than hitherto. If, for instance, a gallery visitor to 'Slovenia and Non-Aligned Pop' exhibition in Maribor can extend their visit by accessing dozens of works on paper by the participating artist Marko Pogačnik on the 'Digitising Ideas' website,⁴⁷¹ and then broaden this knowledge further by reading the multipart OHO Files on MoMA's Post online platform, located within the *'Transmissions in art from Eastern Europe & Latin America, 1960–1980: Research Files'*,⁴⁷² (in turn discovering commonalities with concurrent practices in Latin America) - then perhaps a construction of parallel narratives can function as a project-in-flux, unfolding simultaneously

⁴⁷¹ Digitizing Ideas: Archives of Conceptual and Neo-Avantgarde Art Practices is a joint project initiated by the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb, which involves the Museum of Contemporary Visual Arts from Vojvodina, Modern Gallery in Ljubljana, and Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw. <http://digitizing-ideas.org/>, Last accessed on 12 April 2017

⁴⁷² post is The Museum of Modern Art's online resource devoted to art and the history of modernism in a global context. With a primary focus on modern and contemporary art outside North America and Western Europe, the website invites contributions by individuals and institutions from around the world and makes behind-the-scenes research at MoMA available to a broader public.

inside and beyond gallery spaces. Such ways of operating are perhaps beginning to allow for what Piotr Piotrowski has called ‘horizontal’ or ‘parallel’ art histories, by enabling a multitude of voices and perspectives to coexist and enhance each other across different platforms.⁴⁷³ Piotrowski’s model of simultaneous detailed studies of art historical ‘cuts’ (local practices) emerging from diverse geographies and communities, drawing comparisons on a multitude of levels (transnational, trans-regional and global level), but not concentrically developed around Western art centres, is looking increasingly workable if the infrastructure itself becomes decentralized and separated from the exclusivity of authoritative positions.

Yugoslav socialism of the 1960s and 1970s was not a ‘natural’ environment in which Pop Art was likely to blossom. Pop was at the time largely perceived by both the Yugoslav cultural establishment, and by artists critical of that establishment, who were to gravitate towards conceptualism as a language of critique, as complicit with American cultural imperialism and was usually read as anti-intellectual. ‘*At the core of Pop Art lies a resistance against superiority of the mind and in its anti-intellectual and anti-European attitude there is something of a nostalgia for simplicity, naiveté and perhaps even more for ordinary everyday things*’ wrote the art critic Oto Bihalji Merin in magazine *Umetnost* (Art) in 1966,⁴⁷⁴ thereby distancing Pop from figurative tendencies in contemporary European art.

Yet Pop aesthetics and methods still proved to be a significant influence and a key element in the work of many Yugoslav artists of the period; figures as diverse as Dušan Otašević, Lojze Logar, Mica Popovic, Katalin Ladik, Sanja Iveković and Tomislav Gotovac amongst others, discussed throughout the thesis. As a result of its association with decadence and anti-intellectualism, Pop had been somewhat written out of the history of Yugoslav art, being left on the margins of conceptualism which was fully embraced by many artists from the late 1960s onwards. But, as this thesis has set out to demonstrate, Pop penetrated Yugoslav art, sometimes as a *reaction* to international trends in the artistic production and sometimes in ways that allowed for sophisticated *countercultural* critiques of the social, artistic and political environment of Yugoslavia to be made.

Yugoslav Pop was defined by its plurality, rather than its cohesiveness. That plurality, as I have argued throughout the thesis, and in particular in Chapter 3, emerged from artists’

⁴⁷³ Piotrowski, Piotr

⁴⁷⁴ *Umetnost* (Art), (July -September 1966), Issue 7, Anti Art and the New Reality: Oto Bihalji Merin - The Return to Nature and the Unnatural, pp 5 - 10

diverse positions vis-à-vis the Yugoslav political proposition of self-management, and varying forms of engagement with consumer culture and media.

As described by Gal Kirn, self-management had a dual character: ‘on the one hand it continued to dismantle capitalist exploitation; while on the other hand, it exerted an internal critique within the international workers’ movement targeting state socialism and a hierarchical nationalized planned economy that minimized workers’ democratic forms.’⁴⁷⁵ This dual character fuelled a multifaceted social critique, which was reflected in artists’ diverse positions vis-a-vis the changes in Yugoslav society, and in their ways of utilising possibilities brought in by Pop Art.

I have argued that in Yugoslavia, Pop Art was deployed in two different ways, producing two distinct variants: Pop Reactions and Countercultural Pop.

The two, of course, are not rigid categories, having many crossovers, and their difference lay primarily in the *raison d’être* of the artwork and less in their aesthetic and formal qualities.

Pop Reactions artists discussed in chapters 4 and 5 (Dušan Otašević, Dragos Kalajić, Olja Ivanjicki in Belgrade, and Lojze Logar, Metka Krašovec, Zmago Jeraj, Boris Jesih in Ljubljana) embraced Pop for its fresh, cool and glossy aesthetics, turning to it as a language with which to contest the outdated conventions of socialist modernism tied to abstraction and rigid rules about what is was, at that time, ‘acceptable’ in an artwork. Keen to disrupt the academic status quo, their minor acts of ‘resistance’ occurred through challenging the taught conventions in painting and sculpture on the level of both style and content, through the use of new techniques and materials. The art system, or indeed the place of artist in society were not being put into question by these artists, only *the way* things were being done within that system was under scrutiny. The introduction of figuration, of imagery from television (such as, for instance, in Dragos Kalajić’s *72.5% Dnevnik 178*), newspapers, pop stars and the urban landscape (for example paintings of television screens by Lojze Logar), painted in strong, bold colours (such as Dušan Otašević’s objects), were all modes of resistance on the level of form and content, but not structure.

⁴⁷⁵ Kirn, Gal, ‘A few Notes On The History Of Social Ownership In The Spheres Of Culture And Film In Socialist Yugoslavia From The 1960s To The 1970s’, *Etnološka Tribina* 37, vol. 44, 2014. pp. 109-123, pp. 110

By contrast to the stylistic interventions of Yugoslav ‘Pop Reactions’ artists, ‘Countercultural Pop’ artists’ work put the entire art system into question, in pursuit of a different, more democratic role for art in society, with reference to theoretical propositions by the architects of self-management. This was a specific strand of conceptual practice (or Susovski called ‘New Art Practice’), which deployed popular culture as material to interrogate social relations – a form of pop subversion used for political ends.⁴⁷⁶ As such, they were akin to many politically-radical artists across the globe, whose work has been described by art historian John A Walker as having three objectives: *‘first, to change art; second, to use that new art to change society, and third, to challenge and transform their relations of production and art world institutions,’*⁴⁷⁷ Yugoslav Countercultural Pop artists, in line with the politicised wave of the late 1960s and 1970s, made art the arena in which to enact social change. Works such as Sanja Iveković’s *‘Trokut’ (Triangle)* and *‘Novi Zagreb. Ljudi Iza Prozora’* (New Zagreb. People Behind Windows), (1979) and *Slučajni Prolaznici koje sam sreo u 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 sati* (‘Casual Passersby whom I met at 13.15, 16.23 and 18.11 hours’) Zagreb, (1971) by Braco Dimitrijević, discussed in Chapter 5, for instance, use what I have characterised as ‘pop strategies’ to pose questions about the place of the common person in Yugoslavia, and to point to growing inequality between the ruling elite and the ordinary citizen.

Self-management as ‘a specific form of social organization and a specific way of living which deeply affects the entire structure of one’s personality and the personalities of all working people and self-managing citizens’ in which ‘one’s entire consciousness changes, as do value systems, goals, morality, motivations,’ as articulated by Stane Dolanc, was an ambitious, and, as it turned out, far-fetched vision, but one which held the seeds of a potential future in which art would play a central, and transformative social role.⁴⁷⁸ It was these ideas that Countercultural Pop artists put under pressure by highlighting the realities of the Yugoslav present.

⁴⁷⁶ Susovski, Marijan, ed., *Dokumenti 3 — 6, Nova umjetnička praksa 1966-1978* (Zagreb: Galerija Suvremene Umjetnosti, 1978)

⁴⁷⁷ Walker, A, John, *Left Shift. Radical Art in 1970s Britain*, (London: I.B, Tauris, 2002) p.3

⁴⁷⁸ Dolanc, Stane, *Marxist Science and Social Praxis - Notebooks For Theory And Praxis Of Self-Management (Marksisticka Teorija I Socijalna Praksa) Sveske Za Teoriju I Praksu Samoupravljanja (Zagreb, Ljubljana: Jugoslovenski Centar Za Teoriju I Praksu Samoupravljanja ‘EDVARD KARDELJ’ DELAVSKA ENOTNOST LJUBLJANA INFORMATOR 1980)*, Pg 18, Translation my own. The Date Of This Text Is Not Specified Although it must be 1978 as some Of The Footnotes In The Text Quote Sources From 1978

While the delineation of art as ‘Pop Reactions’ and ‘Countercultural Pop’ provides a helpful framework for mapping out forms of Yugoslav Pop, these categories must be understood as somewhat porous and unstable, allowing for local meanings and specificities produced in an sociopolitical environment that by its very contradictory nature developed its own ‘*alternative meaning-making practices*’, as articulated earlier by Katalin Timar.⁴⁷⁹ I have been mindful of the pitfalls involved in attempting neat categorisation, which could easily replicate the original Pop Art model of exclusivity in which works that do not comfortably fit in are simply ignored because they do not securely fit into a particular category. The process of classification must come with an expectation for the categories to be broken down. As Klara Kemp Welch has asked when writing about Latin American and Eastern European art of the 1960s and 1970s: ‘What happens when pedagogy, poetry, sculpture, and sociability bleed into one another, and categories such as Conceptual art, Happenings, or performance art are undone?’.⁴⁸⁰ In Yugoslavia, the multiple forms of engagement with Pop were precisely the effects of a range of such ‘undoings’, allowing for the plurality of Yugoslav Pop outputs to emerge from the country’s specific and contradictory socio-political situation.

A parallel enquiry of the thesis examined ways in which Pop Art affected, and potentially changed the circumstances and the practices of Yugoslav female artists. In a feminist revisiting of Pop in Yugoslavia I asked whether Pop acted as a catalyst for new forms of artistic expression and new ‘entry points’ for female artists into the heavily male-dominated art environment.

Indeed, female artists as diverse as Olja Ivanjicki, Metka Krašovec, Sanja Iveković and Katalin Ladik did gravitate towards Pop in the period of the 1960s and 1970s. Wishing to explore new approaches and materials, which, they hoped, would loosen up rigid art world structures, these artists all sought a more inclusive artistic conditions, in which everyday experiences and issues could become the subject of art. And while Pop did, to a certain extent, enable some of this to happen, for women Pop’s liberalization also brought about some setbacks, namely the objectification of the female body in the public realm. In Chapter 7 I discussed ways in which popular culture and consumerism clearly brought in a tension for Yugoslav women artists, not dissimilar to the situation that female artists in the West were facing. As Linda Nochlin pointed out, the centrality of women in consumer culture of the

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⁴⁸⁰ Kemp-Welch, Klara, *Species of Spaces in Eastern European and Latin American Experimental Art*, <http://post.at.moma.org/content_items/761-species-of-spaces-in-eastern-european-and-latin-american-experimental-art>, last accessed 30 March 2017

1960s, as primary consumers and advertising targets, was coupled with their 'productlike' status'.⁴⁸¹ This predicament was also evident within Yugoslav moderate consumerism and embodied in women's high visibility in the public sphere of the 1960s. But Yugoslav women's situation was even more complex given the negotiations between the cultural logic of socialism with ways brought in by the new consumer society, as I have discussed at length in Chapter 7.

Throughout the thesis we have encountered several female artists and I have sought to explore their varied engagement with Pop Art, as well as the reception of their work. In Chapter 5, we saw Olja Ivanjicki's declarative positioning as a Pop Artist upon her return from a trip to the USA on a Ford Foundation scholarship in 1962. Ivanjicki's announcement that she was now a Pop Artist expressed in numerous interviews and TV appearances, demonstrated a clear sense of affiliation with Pop and an enthusiasm for the possibilities she believed it could open for her practice. However, the reception to her Pop ideas was unfavourable, and Ivanjicki's Pop Art was mocked by the general press, while attracting moderate interest, at best, from the art community. The mocking tone and the association of Ivanjicki with Western decadence slightly lessened once Robert Rauschenberg won the Golden Lion at the Venice Biennial in 1964, following the first prize at the Ljubljana Graphics Biennial in 1963 – a legitimizing moment for Ivanjicki's ideas. But despite her later mainstream recognition, Ivanjicki's Pop 'moment' was all but forgotten. Her early Pop Art projects have been eclipsed by the popularity of her much more commercially oriented lyrical figurative painting from the 1980s onwards, through which she became a celebrity, but lost all critical acclaim.

Following Ivanjicki's early forays into Pop Art, other female artists across the country assimilated various elements of Pop into their practices, but none as declaratively as Ivanjicki did as early as 1962. The Slovenian painter Metka Krašovec turned to Pop in the late 1960s, although this proved to be a short-lived interest. Krašovec was another artist to absorb Pop influences as a result of a trip to the USA following the period of study at Ohio University in 1966/67. She turned to repetition and Pop's motifs, as evident in her work '*Kokosja Juha - Sporocilo*' ('Chicken Soup - The Message') (1968), which was essentially the artists' response to Warhol's *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962), through a repetitive rendering of

⁴⁸¹ Nochlin, Linda, 'Running on Empty: Women Pop and the Society of Consumption' in Minioudaki, Kalliopi and Sachs, Sid, Eds., *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958-1968* (Philadelphia, [Pa.]; New York: University of the Arts ; Abbeville Press Publishers, 2010) *Seductive Subversion*, Pg. 15.

Yugoslav brand of soup named Podravka. But for Krašovec, the Pop influence rapidly faded as she shortly after turned to monochrome experiments which despite visible Pop techniques such as the use of solid primary colours and flat surfaces, took the artist in a different direction.

For both Krašovec and Ivanjicki, Pop was an imported and appropriated strategy attractive for its novelty and fresh perspective. Yet it proved to be a short-lived phase in their practice, without necessarily opening up deeper transformative possibilities for them as female artists.

A more significant and long-lasting deployment of what Pop had to offer, however, can be seen in the work of Sanja Iveković, Vera Fischer, and Katalin Ladik, who each wove in elements of Pop Art into their practices in combination with many other artistic strategies. In the case of Vera Fischer, collage and the depiction of crowds enjoying consumerist pleasures, as discussed in Chapter 7 was one of many manifestations of the way in which the artist embraced the ethos of Pop. In later projects, Fischer, frustrated with the exclusivity of art, continued her Pop Art sensibility of blurring the boundaries between art and other spheres of life. Fischer's affinity towards democratic access to art led her to organize an exhibition of her paintings in a furniture showroom of the company 'Sovenijales' in Zagreb, in 1973, displaying her paintings (figurative works from the series 'Flowers/Nonflowers' ('Cvijeće/Necvijeće') amongst the furniture for sale, negotiating a deal which enabled potential buyers to pay for her paintings in installments, just like they would for furniture.⁴⁸² Several years later, moving towards environmentally and socially engaged practice, in 1978 Fischer collaborated with the workers of the municipal rubbish disposal company 'Clenliness of the City' (Gradska Čistoća), in organizing a jointly 'curated' exhibition of discarded objects from the street, selected by the refuse collectors. Fischer saw this collaboration as a form of social sculpture, choosing to print the promotional information for the exhibition on black bin liner. This multifaceted embrace of Pop's concerns, more as a sensibility than a specific technique, meant that for Fischer, Pop had a lasting and significant influence which continued to take different forms. In her case, Pop was deployed as a resistance against rigid categories, disposable consumer culture, and the elitism of art – enabling what the artist called 'exhibitions without makeup'.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² References from Lina Džuverović, An Interview with Branka Hlevnjak, February 2014, Zagreb, Croatia.

⁴⁸³ Vera Fischer quoted in the catalogue of her exhibition in Gliptoteka, Hlevnjak Branka, 'Vera Fischer' Autobiografska Izložba, 19.06 - 19.07 2002, Hrvatska Akademina Znanosti I Umjetnosti, Gliptoteka, Zagreb, 2002, 'Umjetnost I Ekologija', p. 10.

For both Sanja Iveković and Katalin Ladik, Pop elements and strategies became embedded in their artistic vocabularies, continuing to be present to this day. Ladik, whose practice beyond the 1970s continued to incorporate collage, performance, sound poetry and vocal experimentation, has over time moved towards a more explicit articulations of sexism and discrimination, which often feature as central elements in her works, such as for instance her performances which often incorporate her dressing and undressing, and morphing through different guises of femininity.

For Sanja Iveković, the interests that emerged when she was still a student - the use of newspaper, magazine and TV adverts as sites of critique - became an integral element in the conceptual photomontages, which are today internationally recognized as groundbreaking conceptual feminist works of the 1970s. The artist has continued to use popular culture, public space and multiple democratic distribution mechanisms, through participatory feminist works such as 'Women's House (Sunglasses)' (2002 – 04) which deals with domestic violence through subverting sunglasses adverts, and 'Pearls of the Revolution' (2007), which juxtaposes glamorous magazine portraits of women, with those of Yugoslav Partisan women, by replicating the Partisan salute.

Pop had many faces in Yugoslavia, a society filled by contradictions. For some, it embodied liberation from the stale academic style of painting, offering a new and fresh way in which art could be made and distributed cheaply and independently. For others, it became a language of critique, a way of using news and found images to highlight the failings of promised egalitarianism in the country. For a brief period, between the late 1960s and mid 1970s, despite major differences in purpose, Pop was an enabler and a catalyst for actions which were previously not permitted, or even accessible. In this brief period, especially shortly after the student protests of 1968, and global protests against the Vietnam War, the work of diverse artists of different generations (for instance August Černigoj, born in 1898, and Sanja Iveković born in 1949) adopted similar strategies, testing out what could be done with glossy magazine images, renditions of TV adverts, Letraset, comic strips and so on. For instance, the hand-drawn magazine models in Marko Pogačnik's 'Tinza', share formal and intellectual qualities with Sanja Iveković's 'Women in Art, Women in Yugoslav Art' (1975) in which she redraws images of female art workers from the Italian *Flash Art* magazine, pointing to the lack of women on the Yugoslav art scene. Both works feature traced silhouettes of women from Italian and German magazines, questioning their social position and agency.

Likewise, Tomislav Gotovac's ambivalent collages, celebrating, but also critiquing, consumer indulgence, have much in common with collages of the same period by Vera Fischer, August Černigoj, Slavko Matković (as I sought to demonstrate by hanging these diverse, yet similar-looking works, in a cluster, in the *Monuments Should Not Be Trusted* exhibition at Nottingham Contemporary in 2016). These, and other artists discussed across the thesis all saw the potential in new methods and materials to address both personal and socio-political questions, with varying forms of criticism. In some cases they were beginning to articulate concerns over a society which would over the next two decades gradually head towards collapse and war.

The value of detailed studies of local artistic practices emerging from regions that have historically, from a Western perspective, been referred to as the 'art margins', reaches far beyond discoveries of individual works and local artists. The understanding of specific, intricate and complex entanglements of local and global events, as well as an attentiveness to political, social and economic circumstances in places like Zagreb, Belgrade or Ljubljana, has the effect of irreversibly changing our overall understanding of art historical moments on a global level. Through studying Pop variants in regions like Eastern Europe, Latin America, and or Middle East, what previously seemed like a relatively secure idea of Pop Art, with its inextricable links to London or New York, begins to look a little less solid and absolute. A detailed knowledge of multiple localities, and a gradual construction of links between them, calls out for a recalibration of the map of Pop, not only in terms of the addition of new information, but also as a way of rethinking how this new knowledge affects Pop's original meanings.

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Appendix

Interviews, Studio Visits, Archives and Collections

a) Interviews and Studio Visits

b) Archives and Collections

a. Interviews and Studio Visits

Alajbegović (Pecovnik), Zemira, artist and TV producer; Interview, 27 March 2015, audio recording available on request, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Berko, artist; meeting and studio visit, together with Jessica Morgan, with regards to potential inclusion in The World Goes Pop exhibition, 5 March 2013, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Badovinac, Zdenka, Director, and Spanjol, Igor, Curator at Moderna galerija (MG+) in the centre of Ljubljana and in the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova (+MSUM); informal meeting together with Jessica Morgan about suggestions for The World Goes Pop exhibition, February 2013, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Baronica, Ksenija, Curator at Student Centre Gallery, meeting regarding material from 1970s pertaining to the Student Centre programme, 4 September 2013, Zagreb, Croatia.

Bassin, Aleksander, independent curator; Interview conducted over email, transcript available on request, March 2015.

Blažević, Dunja, independent curator and cultural worker; Interview, audio recording available on request, 28 November 2014, Belgrade, Serbia.

Delimar, Vlasta, artist; Interview, audio recording available on request, 26 November 2013, Zagreb, Croatia.

Denegri, Ješa, art historian, critic and curator; Two interviews, both audio recordings available on request. First interview: 20 February 2013, Belgrade, Serbia. Second interview: 26 July 2014, Porec, Croatia.

Dimitrijević, Branislav, art historian; Interview, audio recording available on request, 20 February 2013, Belgrade, Serbia.

Grafenauer, Petja, independent curator and art historian; Interview, audio recording available on request, 28 February 2013, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Hlevnjak, Branka, curator who worked closely with Vera Fischer and close friend of the artist; Interview, audio recording available on request, February 2014, Zagreb, Croatia.

Iveković, Sanja, artist; Studio Visit and Interview; audio recording available on request, February 2013, Zagreb, Croatia, followed by multiple studio visits, use of Iveković's extensive library, and informal conversations on a regular basis between 2014 and 2017.

Jeraj, Zmago, artist, meeting and studio visit, together with Jessica Morgan with regards to potential inclusion in The World Goes Pop exhibition, 5 March 2013, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Kolešnik, Ljiljana, art historian; Interview, audio recording available on request, 12 February 2014, Zagreb, Croatia.

Krašovec, Metka, artist, informal discussion about her work in 1970s, February 2013, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Ladik, Katalin, artist; Studio Visit and interview, audio recording available on request, 30 November 2013, Budapest, Hungary.

Logar, Lojze, artist; Interview, audio recording available on request, 16 June 2014, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Nez, David, artist and member of the group OHO; Interview, audio recording available on request, Porec, Croatia, 28 July 2014.

Otašević, Dušan, artist; Interview, audio recording available on request, 7 March 2013, Belgrade, Serbia.

Pejić, Bojana, curator and art historian; Interview, audio recording available on request, 12 February 2014, Berlin, Germany.

Pogačnik, Marko, artist and member of the group OHO; Interview over email, transcript available on request, January 2014.

Šimičić, Darko, curator, Tomislav Gotovac Institute and Cazi-Gotovac, Zora (widow of Tomislav Gotovac); Interview and multiple visits to the Gotovac Institute, audio recording available on request, 3 March 2013, Zagreb, Croatia.

Stilinović, Mladen, artist, and Stipančić, Branka, curator, studio visit and discussion about the work of Mladen Stilinović, 30 June 2014, Zagreb, Croatia.

Šuvaković, Miško, art historian; Interview, audio recording available on request, 22 February, 2013, Belgrade, Serbia.

Sudac, Marinko, collector, numerous conversations and visits to the collection and archive between August 2013 and July 2015. The focus was material on: OHO, Katalin Ladik, Tomislav Gotovac, Bogdanka Poznanović, Gorgona. Zagreb, Croatia.

Timotijević, Slavko, curator, cultural worker; Interview, audio recording available on request, 26 June 2014, Belgrade, Serbia.

Interview about Srećna Nova Galerija (Happy New Gallery) at the Student Cultural Centre, Belgrade, which Timotijević used to run, and about the associated magazine *Izgled*.

Tomić, Milica, artist, and Stojanović, Branimir, philosopher, psychoanalyst and writer; Conversation about Belgrade in 1980s, the Student Cultural Centre, Happy New Gallery (at the Student Cultural Centre), Index Magazine; Notes available on request, 5 June 2014, Belgrade, Serbia.

Vuković, Stevan, Curator, Film Forum, Student Cultural Centre, conversation about censorship and film, 27 November 2014, Belgrade, Serbia.

b. Archives and Collections

Galerija Avgusta Černigoja (August Černigoj Gallery), Kobilarna Lipica
Lipica 5, 6210 Sežana, Slovenia

A visit to the depot in order to view the rarely exhibited collages by August Černigoj made in 1970s, and a visit to the gallery followed by a meeting with the curator.

Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti (HAZU), (Croatian Academy for Arts and Sciences), Fine Art Archives, Gundulićeva 24, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
Research into documentation of exhibitions in Zagreb at the Student Centre and other venues in 1960s and 1970s, including press clippings, exhibition flyers, posters, associated publications. In particular researched such material in connection with artists Jagoda Kaloper, Sanja Iveković and Vera Fischer.

Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives), Marulićev trg 21, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

Research into newspaper clippings from 1960s and 1970s on specific topics including key terms: pop music, pop culture, pop art, coverage of public debates around nudity, pornography and erotica.

Hrvatski filmski savez (Croatian Film Association) Tuškanac 1, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

Research into artists' moving image and kino-clubs including viewing films by Mladen Stilinović and experimental films by various artists/film-makers from Croatia in 1970s.

Institute for the Research of the Avant-Garde/Marinko Sudac Collection, private address, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

Comprehensive research into collection holdings including OHO Super 8 films, OHO objects, archive of Bogdanka Poznanović, Katalin Ladik, Radomir Damjanović Damjan, Gorgona.

Mednarodni grafični likovni center (MGLC), (International Centre Of Graphic Arts),

Grad Tivoli, Pod turnom 3, 1000 Ljubljana

Research into the Ljubljana Graphics Biennial and the work of Lojze Logar.

Moderna galerija / Museum of Modern Art (MG+MSUM), Knjižnica and Dokumentacija-Arhiv, Maistrova 3, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Research into the Ljubljana Graphics Biennial including press clippings, catalogues, research into press material on Lojze Logar.

Muzej suvremene umjetnosti (Museum of Contemporary Art), Avenija Dubrovnik 17, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

Research into Moderna Galerija (previous name) exhibitions in 1960s and 1970s and artist catalogues.

Muzej savremene umetnosti Beograd (Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade), Library and Documentation Department, Botičeva ulica 8, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Catalogues and press clippings for artists Olja Ivanjicki, Dušan Otašević, Dragos Kalajić, Mica Popović.

Muzej istorije Jugoslavije (Museum of the History of Yugoslavia), Botičeva ulica 6, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Research into citizen gifts given to Tito, children's drawings, relay batons (over 15 000 available), photographic archive of all aspects of Tito's time in power, catalogues of previous exhibitions held at the museum.

Programski Arhiv, Televizija Beograd, (Programme Archive Television Belgrade), Takovska 10, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Viewed TV Gallery programme from 1980s which featured numerous artists' commissions, viewed music videos of Yugoslav New Wave bands.

SCCA-Ljubljana, Centre for Contemporary Arts, Metelkova 6, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

Researching Diva Station, a video archive of artists' moving image.

Studentski Kulturni Centar (Student Cultural Centre), Kralja Milana 48, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Material studied: Proposal for the first year of programming of the Student Cultural Centre, posters for events and exhibitions held at SKC, reports, photographic documentation of exhibitions and events.